

# THE CLERGY REVIEW

FEBRUARY, 1954

Canon Edward J. Mahoney—R.I.P.	PAGE 65
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# THE CLERGY REVIEW

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The Editor invites articles and other contributions likely to be of interest to the Clergy. In order that priests may pool their knowledge and experience, readers are asked not only to propose for solution questions concerning theology (moral, pastoral, or dogmatic), canon law, liturgy and other departments of sacred science, but also to contribute to the Correspondence pages their views on the answers given to such questions or on any other matter that falls within the scope of THE CLERGY REVIEW.

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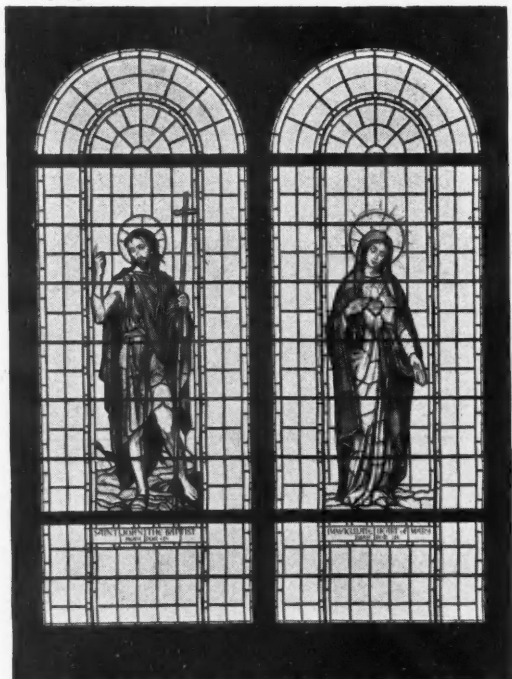
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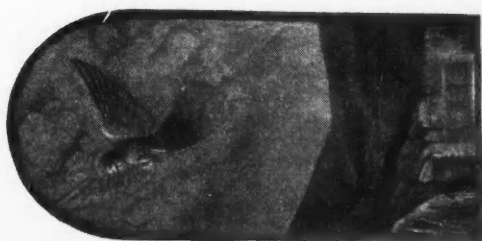
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## CANON EDWARD J. MAHONEY

R.I.P.

The sudden death of Canon Mahoney, known for twenty-three years to readers of *THE CLERGY REVIEW* as "E. J. M.", leaves us with a sense of loss well-nigh irreparable. Wide erudition, careful scholarship, amazing versatility, untiring industry, a knowledge of Moral Theology and Canon Law rivalling that of the host of "authorities" he always so generously quoted—these are some of the gifts which, combined with an exquisitely balanced judgement and that quiet humour which was its fruit, have won for him a place perhaps unique among modern theologians. Joining the staff of St Edmund's College after some years' pastoral experience he was ideally equipped for the responsible task of teaching Moral Theology which he discharged with singular distinction and success for thirty-four years; and the priests in Great Britain—some 500 of them—who have been instructed by him in the art of healing and guiding souls will now be praying for him out of gratitude as well as personal affection.

In *THE CLERGY REVIEW*, the foundation of which owed much to his initiative, the talents of the late Canon found full scope, and so began that most popular feature, *Questions and Answers*, which has established him as one of the ablest moral theologians of his time.

Readers of *THE CLERGY REVIEW* will mourn the loss of one who for many years has instructed and entertained them; the Editor is bereaved of his most valued contributor and adviser; but all who knew him mourn the loss of a friend. The qualities that have endeared him to us are reflected in his work: never wearied of being asked for advice he gave it always promptly and willingly; his interests were priestly, and wide as that term implies; he never took himself too seriously—hence the bursts of laughter that punctuated his lectures at St Edmund's and the flashes of humour that in these pages could brighten the duller of technical discussions; he had in generous measure that lovable gift of humility which is the fruit and authentic mark of true wisdom—hence the precedence he always yielded to the decisions of the Holy See and the views of famous theologians: "Who," he used to say, "wants to know what *I* think?"

He died peacefully on the 7 January 1954. Death came suddenly, as he would have wished; for a priest of his genuine piety it could not be unprovided. *Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur . . . opera illorum sequuntur illos.* May he rest in peace.

# The CLERGY REVIEW

NEW SERIES VOL. XXXIX NO. 2 FEBRUARY 1954

## IS THEIR BAPTISM REALLY NECESSARY?

READERS of THE CLERGY REVIEW may be aware that of recent years several writers have expressed doubts whether infants dying unbaptized are excluded from the beatific vision. Some have implicitly renewed Cajetan's suggestion that an invocation of the Trinity by parents may take the place of Baptism and save an infant dying in the womb; others appeal to the solidarity of mankind with Christ and to the desire of the Church; and others think that an infant may be granted a moment of clarity at death and thus be able to choose for itself, either well or ill. Common to all these views—which are expressed tentatively—is reliance upon the salvific will of God and a conviction that the Church has never imposed the belief that infants dying unbaptized are excluded from heaven. These writers have been opposed by others, some of whom have voiced the judgement that such a view is unsound or rash.

One or two preliminary remarks may be useful. First of all, an emotional atmosphere easily surrounds the question of Limbo; there has been a certain acrimony in discussion and the terms "the milder view" and "the severer view" have been used. This is no new development in connection with Limbo. Gregory of Rimini, *d.* 1358, and his supporters, who held that infants dying unbaptized suffered positive pain, were dubbed "tortores infantium", torturers of babies. This was natural enough, since a tender-hearted man is likely to judge that it is foreign to God's goodness to allow such infants to suffer positive pain; and an opinion to the contrary is easily attributed to hardness of heart or judgement.

But there is here real danger of wishful thinking. Bellarmine observes that human opinion can neither help nor hurt these infants. No baby is saved because we argue that it must be saved; nor is it lost because we argue that it is. The multitudes of babies who have died unbaptized before reaching any use of reason are in fact either in heaven or they are not, and our opinion neither puts them into heaven nor keeps them out of it. Things are as they are and we can only try to conform our minds to the facts.

Nevertheless, in two ways expression of opinion may affect the matter. First, to suggest that every baby whether baptized or not enjoys the beatific vision may risk some lessening of zeal in baptizing them. Pelagius, in a letter to Pope Innocent in the year 417 complained that people calumniated him by saying that he made Baptism superfluous, whereas he did nothing of the sort.<sup>1</sup> The trouble was that ordinary people did not easily understand Pelagius' distinction between the kingdom of heaven and eternal life, and took him to mean that Baptism was not necessary at all, whereas he held it was not necessary for eternal life, but was necessary for heaven.<sup>2</sup> The Bishops of the province of Carthage in 416 thought that Pelagius was cruel to infants, saying that he "was killing them in eternity by his deadly doctrine, which promised them eternal life even if not baptized".<sup>3</sup> For this reason those who uphold the traditional doctrine on Limbo consider that they are no less benevolent to babies than those who attack Limbo; no risks are to be taken with their hope of the beatific vision.

Expression of opinion, however, is of consequence in another way. If an opinion is presented which reasonable people find abhorrent, then a prejudice is created against it. Thus Calvin's view about the "inscrutable decree of predestination", and Luther's about the total depravity of human nature, have been responsible for many people turning away from religion. Similarly, Gregory of Rimini's view that infants suffer positive pain in Limbo makes the doctrine very hard to defend. It may be added that to present Limbo as necessarily connoting a conscious sorrow is certainly to increase the grief of parents of infants dying unbaptized; for, as the suggestion that unbaptized infants may actually go to heaven is at the very best only probable, attacks upon Limbo in the concrete are of very doubtful comfort to bereaved parents.

Another preliminary observation is this: it is difficult even to frame the problem of Limbo without arousing feeling. The

<sup>1</sup> Augustine, *De Peccato Originali*, 17, 19, ed. Urba and Zycha, in vol. 60 of the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Vienna, 1913, p. 180. Hereafter this edition is cited as CV, *Corpus Vindobonense*.

<sup>2</sup> *Letter to Pope Innocent* from the Synod of Carthage in 614, Migne *Patres Latini*, 45, 1712.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep.* 175 inter ep. Aug., n6, ed. Goldbacher, in the C.S.E.L., vol. 44, p. 3, p. 661; hereafter cited as CV 44.



exclusion of unbaptized infants from the beatific vision readily calls up before the imagination a picture of something like a tea-party, into which good little baptized babies run happily, while poor little unbaptized children are shut out, to wander in the darkness and try to tell themselves that they really don't like parties. If it be added that it is not really God Who shuts out the unbaptized, but only some desiccated, long-nosed theologians, wedded to old-fashioned text-books, then inevitably one must feel sympathetic towards the excluded and indignant with the excluders. Moreover, if it be imagined that infants dying unbaptized are present at the Last Judgement and sternly dismissed among the damned, then the problem will surely occasion almost insuperable emotional difficulties. In fact, of course, as St Thomas and most theologians hold, unbaptized infants are not present to be judged at the Last Judgement. At most, they are present to see the glory of God, but they themselves are not judged at all.<sup>1</sup>

The problem may be put in another picture, justified by our Lord's comparison of heaven to a banquet. If parents go to a superb banquet, they enjoy the caviar, the plum pudding and the champagne; but they do not expect to feed their babies on such food. The infants could neither enjoy it nor assimilate it. Similarly, adults enjoy the music of Bach, the paintings of Michelangelo, the wit and subtlety of Shakespeare; they enjoy playing bridge, doing cross-word puzzles and working out football results. But infants do not enjoy such things. The taste for them is acquired. Now, in a true sense, heaven is an acquired taste; acquired, indeed, not naturally, but supernaturally, and remaining something whose absence does not make unbaptized infants feel hurt or frustrated. The picture of Limbo should rather be of children, themselves happy as their little hearts can wish, and rejoicing in the happiness of others, but not pining for the precise kind of happiness which others have. None of the blessed in heaven feels unhappy because he has not the degree or the kind of glory which others enjoy. Unbaptized infants may be considered as having as much happiness as the heart of man can conceive, and as lacking only the happiness which it is beyond the heart of man to conceive. Here on earth, a home with-

<sup>1</sup> *Supplementum*, Q. 89, a. 5 ad 3, and practically all modern theologians.

out children is dull, lacking the light-heartedness which children bring; and it may be that God, in His final world of mankind, wishes to have some who remain children. For all we know, they may play a precious role in revealing God's goodness and love in a way which others do not, just as those lower in glory reveal God's goodness in a different way from those higher in glory.

The last preliminary remark is this: the facts of the case about infants dying unbaptized before they reach any use of reason can only be known by what God has revealed to us, and not by any reasonings or conjectures of our own. Only by revelation do we know of the very existence of the beatific vision; and, likewise, only by revelation do we know of original sin, of God's salvific will, and of the effects of Baptism. Moreover, it is only by revelation that we know that Baptism can benefit infants; and this revelation came to us, not by God's word written in Scripture, but by the unwritten practice and belief of the Church. Since this is so, judgement about the lot of unbaptized infants can only be founded upon the sense and mind of the Church.

Now the Church has never declared her mind about the lot of these infants by any definition of faith explicitly framed to deal with the matter. This, however, does not settle the question. Besides doctrines which have been the explicit object of dogmatic definition, there are a large number of truths which every Catholic holds, at least implicitly, because the Church, even without formal definition, has sufficiently shown her mind about them. Some instance would be: that grace is given outside the Church; that heretics, Jews, pagans receive sufficient grace from God; that there is Baptism of desire; that all men now living descend from a single pair; that God could have created man without planning that he should have the beatific vision; that Christ in His human soul had the beatific vision; that the contract of marriage, in the case of the baptized, is identical with the sacrament; that a sacrament is invalid if the minister in his secret heart intends not to do what the Church does. None of these has been defined as an article of faith, like Papal Infallibility or the Assumption; yet all of them are held by Catholics without hesitation or doubt, because the Church has

sufficiently declared her mind about them, and some theologians think that they could be defined if it were judged expedient.

What then is the mind of the Church about the lot of infants who die, after promulgation of the Gospel, without attaining any use of reason and unbaptized? This exact question arose during the Pelagian controversy of the fourth and fifth centuries. The Pelagians held that such infants went to eternal life but not to the kingdom of heaven; St Augustine, as is well known, held not only that they went to neither, but also that this was the faith of all Christians, including schismatics and heretics.<sup>1</sup> No serious reader of St Augustine has ever doubted this, and none ever could doubt it. Moreover, St Augustine carefully distinguished between the fact of the exclusion of these infants from heaven, and the precise fate which would be theirs. He himself thinks that it "can rightly be said" that they are in "the mildest damnation of all"<sup>2</sup>, and he argues that they must suffer grief because of their exile<sup>3</sup>; but he never says that this was the faith of the Church, as he does say, again and again, that the Christian faith was clear upon the fact of their exclusion.<sup>4</sup>

This witness of St Augustine to the faith of the Church may, however, be evaded by the following suggestion:

"Augustine's statements must always be taken in the context of the heresy which he was opposing. Now the substantial doctrine which St Augustine asserted against the Pelagians was the doctrine of original sin, the necessity of grace to remit original sin and the gratuity of grace. If original sin be admitted, and the necessity and the gratuity of grace, then the exact means by which original sin is remitted by grace is of comparatively small consequence. May there be some other means than Baptism in water which will apply grace to the souls of dying infants? To think that there perhaps may be implies not the slightest doubt about original sin or about the need of grace or the gratuity of

<sup>1</sup> *De Pec. Mer. et Rem.* 3, 6, 12, CV 60, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Contra Iul.* 6, 10, 32, Migne Patres Latini, 44, 840.

<sup>4</sup> As characteristic passages, cf. *De Pec. Mer. et Rem.* 1, 16, 21, CV 60, p. 20; *ibid.*, 1, 20, 28, p. 27; 1, 27, 41, p. 40; 1, 28, 55, p. 54; 3, 5, 10, p. 136; *De Anima*, i, 13, 16, CV 60, p. 316; *C. Duas Ep. Pel.*, 1, 22, 40, CV 60, p. 458; *C. Iul.* 3, 5 11-12, MPL 44, 708-9; 3, 3, 9, col. 706; 6, 3, 6, col. 824; *Ep.* 166, 20, CV 44, 3, p. 574; *Ep.* 215, 1, CV 44, 4, p. 388; *Ep.* 186, 29, CV 44, 4, p. 68; *Sermo* 294, cap. 3-7, MPL 38, 1336-1341.

grace; it merely extends to dying infants something like Baptism of desire in the case of adults. Consequently, we may disregard Augustine's assertions that unbaptized infants are in fact excluded from heaven, and still fully maintain the Church's doctrine on original sin and grace."

Now this argument shows that it is not safe to argue to the absolute need of Baptism, as do some theologians, from passages in St Augustine which, strictly speaking, prove only the need of redemption or of grace. Such passages only prove the need of some means by which the merits of Christ can be applied to infants; and those who have attacked Limbo admit most fully this need of a supernatural remedy for original sin. To show the need of some remedy is not to show that Baptism is the only remedy. To show that infants need Christ as their Saviour is not to show that He can be their Saviour only by Baptism.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the suggestion, although ingenious, is fallacious, and cannot stand confrontation with St Augustine's categorical statements about the actual faith of the Church of his day. He repeatedly tells us not merely that the Church believed that grace is needed to remit original sin, but that the Church believed that if an infant dies without Baptism, it will in actual fact be excluded from eternal life and from heaven. This is of such consequence that some elaboration of the point is justified.

1. St Augustine affirmed this belief of the Church in his answer to the Donatist Petilian in 401, before the Pelagian controversy began about 410 or so.<sup>2</sup> He affirmed it likewise in his letters to St Jerome,<sup>3</sup> to Optatus<sup>4</sup> about the origin of the soul, and likewise in his *De Anima*, which deals with the defence of the creation of the soul by a convert Donatist named Vincent Victor.<sup>5</sup> The Pelagian controversy caused Augustine to emphasize the fact that Christians believed infants dying unbaptized to be excluded from heaven, but Augustine affirmed the fact at other times, when not engaged in that controversy.

2. Against the Pelagians with almost wearisome frequency

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the argument in *De Pec. Mer. et Rem.* 1, 23, 33, CV 60, p. 32-33.

<sup>2</sup> *Contra Ep. Petil.* 2, 101, 232, ed. Perschenig, Vindobonae, 1909, CSEL 52, p. 147, 26.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep.* 166, 8, CV 44, 3, pp. 579, 1. 5-580 1. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep.* 190, 4, 13, CV 44, 4, p. 147.

<sup>5</sup> 1, 9, 11, CV 60, p. 313.

Augustine says that all Christians believe that without Baptism infants are lost. His fundamental argument is not that there is need of some remedy to remit original sin, and that therefore infants must be baptized; but that since all Christians believe that by Baptism alone infants can be saved, therefore they have original sin. The belief about the absolute need of Baptism is most often taken as the basis of his proof of the existence of original sin, and the proof of the need and the gratuity of grace.<sup>1</sup>

3. He appeals again and again to the fact that Christian parents hurried to have their babies baptized and were fearful lest they die without Baptism: *parvuli suorum curantium pio timore portantur*.<sup>2</sup> In his letter to St Jerome he says:

"Whoever tells us that any one can be vivified in the resurrection of the dead, except in Christ, must be detested as a common pest of the faith. Likewise, whoever says that in Christ are vivified even infants who die without sharing in His sacrament, he certainly both runs counter to the apostolic teaching, and condemns the whole Church, where for this precise reason people hurry and run to have babies baptized, because without doubt it is believed that in no other way at all can they be vivified in Christ."<sup>3</sup>

Again and again St Augustine appeals to this belief, manifest in the anxiety of parents to secure Baptism for their babies, and he regards it as conclusive proof of the teaching of the Church.<sup>4</sup>

4. Augustine repeatedly taunts the Pelagians with their refusal to admit unbaptized infants to the kingdom of heaven. Since the Pelagians held that infants are sinless, and are the image of God, they admitted them to eternal life. Why then did the Pelagians exclude them from the kingdom of heaven? Augustine answers, not once, but again and again, that they

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ep.* 166, nn. 23, 24, 25, CV 44, 3, pp. 578-580; *Ep.* 194, 31, CV 44, 4, p. 201, 1. 1-4; *De Pec. Mer. et Rem.* 1, 18, 232, CV 60, p. 22, 1. 22-24; *ibid.* 1, 18, 23, p. 23, 15-21; *Sermo* 294, 17, 17, MPL 38, 1436.

<sup>2</sup> *De Pec. Mer. et Rem.* 1, 18, 23, CV 60, p. 23, 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep.* 166, 7, 21, CV 44, 3, p. 576: *quisquis dixerit quod in Christo vivificabuntur etiam parvuli, qui sine sacramenti eius participatione de vita exeunt, hic profecto et contra apostoli praedicationem venit et totam condemnat ecclesiam, ubi propterea cum baptizandis parvulis festinatur et curritur, quia sine dubio creditur aliter eos in Christo vivificari omnino non posse.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Sermo* 294, 19, MPL 38, 1347; *C. Lit. Petil.* 2, 101, 232, CV 52, p. 147, 26; *De Dono Per.*, 12, 31, MPL 44, 1012; *De Anima*, 2, 9, 13, CV 60, p. 347, 17, to select but some examples.

dared not challenge the universal belief of Christian people. No Christian would allow such a thing to be said.<sup>1</sup> Julian, says Augustine, on his principles ought to deny the absolute need of Baptism, but does not dare, because even simple women would cry out against him.<sup>2</sup> Julian disdainfully remarked that Augustine was appealing against him to the ignorant mass of people; Augustine answers that the Catholic faith on the matter is so clear that no one is so ignorant as not to know and hold it, for it is a practical matter, which affects parents' dealing with their newly-born infants.<sup>3</sup>

Augustine says to Pelagius: "You are very kind to unbaptized babies and promise them eternal life. Why then do you not go further in your kindness and promise them also the kingdom of heaven?" Augustine answers his own rhetorical question and says that Pelagius does not dare, since the faith is too evident and too strongly rooted in the hearts of the people.<sup>4</sup> If these infants are without sin, why does Pelagius keep them from the blessings of heaven? Augustine answers, "premitur mole matris ecclesiae": he is overlaid by the weight of mother Church.<sup>5</sup> Pelagius simply does not dare to contradict the conviction of the whole Church and of all Christian peoples.<sup>6</sup>

The Pelagians never succeeded in finding an answer to this sledge-hammer argument of St Augustine. Never once, as far as the evidence goes, did any Pelagian say that infants dying unbaptized go to the kingdom of heaven. Because infants are sinless, they said, and because they are images of God, they are entitled to eternal life: "the image of God," said Pelagius, "should not be separated from God";<sup>7</sup> but the Pelagians likewise steadily admitted that Baptism gives a superadded gift,

<sup>1</sup> *De Pec. Mer. et Rem.* 1, 18, 23, CV 60, p. 22, 1. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *C. Iul.* 3, 5, 11, MPL 44, 708.

<sup>3</sup> *C. Iul.* 6, 8, 22, MPL 44, 835-6; and cf. *ibid.*, 1, 7, 31, col. 663; *ibid.*, 5, 1, 4, col. 784; *De Pec. Mer. et Rem.* 1, 26, 39, CV 60, p. 38, 1. 3; *Ep.* 186, 8, 27, CV 44, 4, p. 67, 1. 15-19.

<sup>4</sup> *Sermo* 294, 5, 5, MPL 38, 1338.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 17, 17, MPL 38, 1346.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the first chapters and the end of *Sermo* 294, MPL 38, cols. 1336-1346 and 1347-8; *De Pec. Mer. et Rem.* 1, 23, 33, CV 60, p. 32, 1. 25-33 1. 1; *De Anima*, 1, 9, 11, CV 60, p. 312, 17-19; *Ep.* 166, 8, 25, CV 44, 3, p. 580, 1.5-10; *Ep.* 186, 8, 27, CV 44, 3, p. 67, 1.9-10.

<sup>7</sup> *De Pec. Mer. et Rem.* 1, 30, 58, CV 60, p. 57, 1. 16-19; *ibid.*, 1, 28, 55, p. 54, 1. 12; *C. Iul.* 6, 4, 10, MPL 44, 827, *ibid.*, 10, 32, col. 840; *ibid.*, 6, 20, 64, col. 826; *Sermo* 294, MPL 38, 1336.

to which infants had no title even on ground of their innocence and their natural resemblance to God. Pelagius admitted that Baptism is "a new creation";<sup>1</sup> Julian admitted that Baptism is a grace given beyond all claim or merit, which bestows "an ineffable benefit".<sup>2</sup> "Christ increases His benefits," said Julian, "by continual generosity to His image, and those whom by creation He makes good, by renewal and adoption He makes better."<sup>3</sup> This admission by the Pelagians that unbaptized infants were excluded from heaven is most striking and most significant.

5. There is justification for St Augustine's charge that the Pelagians did not dare to deny the absolute necessity of Baptism for entry into the kingdom of heaven. They were anxious to make converts and anxious to be regarded as orthodox. Now if Christians did believe, as Augustine says they did, that Baptism was absolutely necessary for heaven, then we can understand why the Pelagians were reluctant to deny this belief. Celestine's teaching was condemned in 411 at the Council of Carthage, at which Augustine was not present, and among the statements for which he was condemned was listed "infants without Baptism can attain eternal life".<sup>4</sup> Celestine, in his letter to Pope Zosimus in 417, declared that "we confess that infants must be baptized in remission of sins, according to the rule of the universal Church and according to the word of the Gospel,"<sup>5</sup> because the Lord decreed that the kingdom of heaven can be given only to the baptized; since what the powers of nature have not within them must be given by the bounty of grace".<sup>6</sup> Julian, in his *Libellus* to Pope Zosimus in 418, said that he held that "no one can obtain remission of sins and the kingdom of heaven unless he is baptized".<sup>7</sup>

Whether or no the Pelagians were sincere in these admissions, it is unquestionable that they always agreed that infants dying

<sup>1</sup> *De Pec. Mer. et Rem.* 1, 18, 23, CV 60, p. 22, l. 16-17.

<sup>2</sup> *C. Iul.* 6, 11, 32, MPL 44, 840.

<sup>3</sup> *C. Iul.* 3, 3, 8, MPL 44, 705.

<sup>4</sup> *De Gestis Pelagii*, 11, 23, CV 42, p. 77, l. 13-4; and cf. MPL 44, col. 1691-2. This Council of Carthage of 411 should not be confused with the Council at Carthage in 416.

<sup>5</sup> John 3, 5.

<sup>6</sup> *De Pec. Orig.* 5, 5, CV 42, p. 169-170.

<sup>7</sup> MPL 45, 1733.



unbaptized can never enter the kingdom of heaven. They repudiated the charge that they held anything different even though it set them at a polemic disadvantage. It is very hard to escape the conclusion that the Church at the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth held universally as part of the Christian faith that infants dying unbaptized do not in fact enter heaven.

6. St Augustine claimed that this same belief existed in the middle of the third century. He refers to the Council of Carthage held in 253 under St Cyprian, at which sixty-seven Bishops had before them the opinion of a certain Fidus, who thought that Baptism, by analogy with circumcision, ought to be postponed until the eighth day after birth. The Bishops unhesitatingly answered that Baptism must not be postponed, because "for our part, we must do all that in us lies to secure that no soul may be lost".<sup>1</sup> St Augustine makes the comment that these Bishops were convinced that "it is deadly and ruinous to leave this life without the sacrament", and that the Bishops "felt no need to enter into deliberation or discussion about the matter, since it was regarded as settled and certain that the soul of an infant was lost from eternal salvation if it left this life without receiving the sacrament".<sup>2</sup>

Earlier evidence supports Cyprian and Augustine. Tertullian, born about 160, and writing his treatise on Baptism about 200-206, tells us that it was an established custom that laymen were allowed to baptize, and, indeed, were obliged to baptize in case of danger of death, which was looked upon as being a matter of "necessity" in which failure to baptize would cause "the ruin of a man".<sup>3</sup> The Council of Elvira, in Spain, held between 300 and 306, speaks of the power of laymen to baptize "in cases of necessity through illness".<sup>4</sup> St Jerome in 378 says we all know that laymen can baptize "in cases of neces-

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Cypriani* 64, ed. Hartel, CSEL, vol. 2, p. 717.

<sup>2</sup> *De Pec. Mer. et Rem.* 3, 5, 10, CV 60, p. 136, 16-18-p. 137, 13-23; and in *Contra Duas Ep. Pel.* 4, 8, 23, CV 60, pp. 456-459, Augustine again refers to this Council, with its statement that "the soul will be lost if the infant dies unbaptized".

<sup>3</sup> *Sufficit scilicet in necessitatibus ut utaris iure baptizandi, sicubi aut loci aut temporis aut personae conditio compellit. Tunc enim constantia succurrentis excipitur, cum urget circumstantia periclitantis, quoniam reus erit perditis hominis, si supersederit praestare quod libere potuit. De Bapt.* 17, ed. d'Alès, Romae, 1933, p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Denz. 52d.

sity".<sup>1</sup> St Gregory of Nazianzus, in his sermon on Baptism delivered in 381, says the custom is to baptize infants at once if any danger threatens,<sup>2</sup> and St Augustine, writing about 400 against the Donatists, speaks of the validity of a Baptism when "necessity compels a layman to baptize one who is actually perishing".<sup>3</sup>

St Ambrose, writing about 388, says explicitly that infants dying unbaptized will not have "the honour of the kingdom", although he thinks they will be exempt from pain; and St Gregory of Nazianzus says much the same, excluding them from "celestial glory", and from punishment.<sup>4</sup> St Basil, *d.* 379, insists that without Baptism into the death of Christ, no one can be made one with Christ; without passing, like the Israelites through the Red Sea, through water, no one can be freed from the tyranny of the devil; without Baptism, no one can drink the drink of life, nor eat the food of angels, nor enter the promised land.<sup>5</sup> St Cyril of Jerusalem, in his Catechetical Instructions, delivered about 348, declared that "no one unless he is baptized can have salvation, the martyrs alone excepted, who even without water receive the kingdom".<sup>6</sup>

Thus, the evidence before the time of St Augustine shows him to have been fully in the stream of the Catholic tradition on the point. After his time, Pope Leo the Great, *d.* 461,<sup>7</sup> Pope Gelasius I, *d.* 496,<sup>8</sup> and St Gregory the Great, *d.* 604,<sup>9</sup> amply confirm St Augustine. The Decretum attributed to Pope Siricius, but probably composed about the beginning or the middle of the sixth century, reads: "In the case of infants who cannot speak for themselves, or of those who in some necessity have need of the water of Baptism, we must succour them with all haste, for it would be ruinous to our souls that any one should leave this world without the sacred font and lose both the kingdom

<sup>1</sup> *Contra Lucif.* 9, MPL 23, 164.

<sup>2</sup> *In Bapt. Or.* 40, MPG 36, 400.

<sup>3</sup> *Contra Ep. Parm.* 2, 13, 29, CV 41, p. 80.

<sup>4</sup> Ambrose, *De Abraham*, 84, MPL 14, 497, where the "nescio" is a negative; Gregory, *In Bapt. Or.* 40, MPG 389.

<sup>5</sup> *Hom. in Bapt.* 2, MPG 31, 427.

<sup>6</sup> *Cat.* 3, 10, MPG 33, 440.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep.* 21, 10, MPL 54, 685.

<sup>8</sup> *Ep.* 7, MPL 59, 37, 38.

<sup>9</sup> *Ep. lib.* 9, cp. 52, MPL 77, 990.

and life."<sup>1</sup> This Decretum entered the Common Law of the Church and was cited regularly throughout the Middle Ages.

From the end of the second century, until the beginning of the seventh, the evidence comes to us from Rome, Jerusalem, Carthage, Milan, Palestine, Spain, Italy and France; and it all confirms St Augustine's declaration that the whole Church believed, not merely that it was the safer course to baptize infants in danger of death, but that the infant would be excluded from heaven if it died unbaptized. Nor can the force of this evidence be evaded by adducing passages from some of the Fathers which appear to deny the possibility of Baptism of desire in the case of adults. Both St Ambrose and St Augustine were well aware that in the case of adults "faith and conversion of heart" may supply for the lack of actual Baptism;<sup>2</sup> infants with no use of reason were obviously in a different category.

Augustine, like Tertullian,<sup>3</sup> St Ambrose,<sup>4</sup> St Basil the Great,<sup>5</sup> and like Celestine the Pelagian (cf. his words cited above), believed that the origin of this belief about the unconditional need of Baptism for infants, was the text of St John, 3, 5: "Amen, amen I say to thee, unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter the kingdom of heaven." He does not merely take the text literally, in its very obvious meaning; he also takes it in its full broad context, as asserting the natural impossibility of attaining the supernatural rebirth, except through the Word Incarnate, and by means which correspond with the nature of the dispensation of the Incarnation, that is, which are both outward and inward.<sup>6</sup> Augustine appeals also to other texts, notably to Rom. 6, 4-9 and Gal. 3, 27, about the necessity of the symbolic death and resurrection with Christ, to 1 Peter 3, 20-21,

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Himerium*, 3, PL. 13, 1135. The last words seem to have been written after the Pelagian controversy.

<sup>2</sup> Ambrose, *De Obitu Val.* 51-52, MPL 16, 1374; Augustine, *De Bapt. contra Donat.* 4, ch. 21-26, MPL 43, col. 172-177, where he cites the words about the man born blind: "aetatem habet, ipse pro se loquatur," John 9, 21, col. 176 top. Cf. Capéran, *Le Problème du Salut des Infidèles*, Paris, 1912, pp. 129-130, who, however, seems to exaggerate Augustine's view of the need of explicit faith in adults, although he has useful interpretations of Augustine.

<sup>3</sup> *De Bapt.* 12, ed. d'Alès, p. 16 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *De Abraham*, 2, 84, MPL 14, 497.

<sup>5</sup> *Hom. in Bapt.* 2, MPG 31, 427.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the considered opinion of Wescott, *com. in loc.*

in which Baptism is compared to the ark, in which alone souls were saved, and often to Titus 3, 5, in which salvation comes to us through the laver of regeneration. (References will be found in the index of CV 60.)

But apart from this witness of Scripture, which Augustine thought was very explicit, the case of unbaptized infants was linked in his mind with two very fundamental convictions, which he took to be essential elements in the Christian faith. The first of these was the utter gratuity of grace with the unfathomable mystery which this involves; the second was the absolute need of incorporation into the Mystical Body of Christ, the visible Church.

1. The Pelagians held that each man must be treated according to his merit and worth. Julian went so far as to say that by free will man is emancipated from God.<sup>1</sup> Augustine saw that in substance the Pelagians held that man can save himself without Christ. This was, to Augustine, an attack on the very personality of God, Who is reduced to being a judge, or an administrator, obliged to give man exactly that to which man is entitled.<sup>2</sup> Augustine insisted that from the beginning to the end we are absolutely dependent upon God for our salvation: for the first impulse of faith, for resistance to temptation, for perseverance to the end.<sup>3</sup> His constant cry is: "Quis te discernit? Quid habes quod non accepisti? Si autem accepisti, quid gloriaris quasi non acceperis?"<sup>4</sup>

But this insistence upon God's initiative and God's all-per-vading activity in man's good deeds raised serious difficulties which the Pelagians were not slow to advance. Augustine, said the Pelagians, made God an "accepter of persons", treating men not according to their merits and worth, but according to His own choice, and this, they held, was contrary to God's justice and goodness.<sup>5</sup> In answer, Augustine pointed to the very obvious differences in men's natural talents, in the conditions

<sup>1</sup> *Op. Imp. contra Iul.* 1, 78, MPL 45, 1102.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *De Pec. Mer. et Rem.* 1, 21, 29-30, CV 60, 27-30; *De Dono Per.* 12, 28-32, MPL 45, 1009-1014; *Ep.* 186, 6, 16-22, CV 57, 4, pp. 58-63; and *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> The Indiculus of Pope Celestine summarizes Augustine's doctrine on the point, which is the doctrine of the Church, Denz. 130-142.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Cor. 4, 7; cf. for instance, *De Dono Per.* 6, 9, MPL 45, 920, and almost *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Contra Duas Ep. Pel.* 2, 5, 10-12, CV 60, 468-470, and often.

of their lives, and particularly the differences which begin with birth. Infants are born, some blind, some deaf, some deformed, some morons, some idiots.<sup>1</sup> The afflictions of babies and small children had perplexed Augustine long before the Pelagian controversy began; in his *De Libero Arbitrio*, written in 395, he speaks most feelingly of the sufferings of tiny children, and wondered whether God permitted it only in order to recompense them in the next life.<sup>2</sup> Augustine in letter 166, written in 414 at the height of the Pelagian controversy, says, in answer to Pelagian objections from this passage, that he refers only to baptized infants; but in the *Retractions*,<sup>3</sup> written in 427, and the *De Dono Perseverantiae*,<sup>4</sup> written a year later, he explicitly considers the *De Libero Arbitrio*, but does not modify this passage about infants being recompensed. Augustine was most sensible of the sufferings of babies and children, and referred to them very often: "They pine away with fevers, they are racked with disease, are tortured by hunger and thirst, atrophied in limb, deprived of organs, attacked by evil spirits."<sup>5</sup> How is it just that innocent beings should suffer so? How is God merciful in permitting it? How have they in any way merited it?<sup>6</sup>

But St Augustine saw that this problem of physical suffering in personally innocent infants was only part of a still greater problem, that of God's distribution of grace. "He was taken away lest wickedness should alter his understanding, or deceit beguile his soul."<sup>7</sup> Why does not God take men from life when they are in a good spiritual state, before they fall away into crime and apostasy?<sup>8</sup> With more grace, many more would be converted: why does not God give more grace? If Tyre and Sidon had had the opportunities of Bethsaida and Corozain,

<sup>1</sup> *C. Iul.* 3, 3-4, MPL 45, 706-7.

<sup>2</sup> *De Libero Arbitrio*, 3, 23, 68, MPL 32, 1304.

<sup>3</sup> Bk. 1, ch. 9.

<sup>4</sup> 11, 27, MPL 45, 1008-9.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep.* 166, 6, 16, CV 44, 3, p. 569, 1-10; *ibid.*, 7, 18, p. 571-2; and also *Ep.* 186, 8, 30, CV 44, 4, p. 69; *De Pec. Mer. et Rem.* 1, 35, 64, CV 60, p. 64-65; *ibid.*, 1, 38, 69, p. 69-70.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. v.g., *Ep.* 166, 6, 16, CV 44, 3, p. 569.

<sup>7</sup> *Wis.* 4, 11.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Contra Duas Ep. Pel.* 2, 7, 16, CV 60, p. 478; *De Pec. Mer. et Rem.* 1, 21, 30, *ibid.*, p. 29; *De Anima*, 1, 12, 15, *ibid.*, p. 315; *Op. Imp. c. Iul.* 5, 13, MPL 45, 1443; and often.

they would have done penance.<sup>1</sup> God's distribution of natural and of supernatural gifts is a mystery, and although we know that God is just, and although we can see certain justifications for God's way of dealing with men, yet we must confess, in the last analysis, that our minds cannot comprehend why God gives His gifts in this way or that, gives so much and no more. This was Augustine's steady admission, which he thought affirmed in St Paul's letter to the Romans.

Now this mystery of God's grace, which is given without any earning or merit of man's, which is given as God chooses, St Augustine found most strikingly illustrated in the case of infants. Accepting as the Church's teaching that infants dying unbaptized do not go to heaven, he finds in the case of baptized and unbaptized infants the supreme illustration of God's freedom in the distribution of His gifts, and the ultimate and unanswerable proof of the complete gratuity of grace. One infant is baptized, dies and goes to heaven. Another dies unbaptized and is lost. The example of these two infants comes again and again.<sup>2</sup>

The Pelagians and Semi-Pelagians were so hard pressed to meet this case given by St Augustine that some of them had recourse to the suggestion that God rewarded or punished according to the merits or demerits which the babies would have had if they had lived longer. Augustine asks if God could not forgive contingent sins as well as real ones and give contingent grace to meet contingent cases; there is no means of defending the idea that grace is given according to human meriting or human earning. Man simply has no claim at all to grace.<sup>3</sup>

St Augustine sorrowfully admits that he finds no solution to the case of these infants. Why they should suffer physically, why some should die unbaptized, is a problem which afflicts his mind and which he repeatedly says he cannot solve. God is

<sup>1</sup> *De Don. Per.*, 9, 25, MPL 45, 1006; *ibid.*, 10, 24, 1008-9, and often.

<sup>2</sup> *De Pec. Mer. et Rem.* 1, 21, 30, CV 60, p. 28; *De Anima*, 111, 13-14, CV 60, pp. 311-312; *C. Duas Ep. Pel.* 2, 7, 14, CV 60, p. 474; *C. Iul.* 6, 3, 6, MPL 44, 824; *ibid.*, 6, 14, 43, col. 847; *ibid.*, 4, 8, 40, col. 758-9; *Ep.* 186, 8, 27, CV 57, p. 67; *Ep.* 194, 7, 32, CV 57, 4, p. 201; *Enchiridion*, ch. 24 and 25, Ancient Christian Writers series, trans. Arand, pp. 88-95; *De Praed. Sanc.* 13, 25, MPL 45, 978; *De Dono Per.* ch. 8-14, MPL 45, 1002-1012.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *De Praed. Sanc.* 12, 24, MPL 44, 978.

just and good; but we cannot fathom the unsearchable ways of His Providence: "O man, who art thou who repliest against God? . . . O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and the knowledge of God. How incomprehensible are his judgments, and how unsearchable his ways."<sup>1</sup> But the case of infants was not isolated in St Augustine's mind; it was linked with the whole problem of God's distribution of His gifts, and Augustine said he knew he was incapable of solving the problem and was not ashamed to appeal with St Paul to the inscrutability of God's judgements and the unsearchableness of His ways.<sup>2</sup>

St Augustine may appear to some to be unsatisfactory in such an apparently despairing answer to the problem; let those who feel so, give their own answer to the problem why God need not give such grace that all men will in fact be saved, and saved through their own free will. It is very difficult to separate the case of infants from the whole mystery of God's Providence, and appeals to God's salvific will must take this into account.

2. The absolute need of Baptism for infants was linked in St Augustine's mind with the concept of a visible dispensation of salvation. Christ and the Church are one; Christ is the Head, the Church His body, and hence Head and body, the Church and Christ, make one.<sup>3</sup> But this unity is not with Christ in His divine nature, as Christ is God, but in His human nature, as He is man. The visible dispensation of the Incarnation is continued in the visible dispensation of the Church.<sup>4</sup> The Church is so one with Christ that they speak with one voice<sup>5</sup> and the heart of Christ is the heart of His body, the Church.<sup>6</sup> As there is no revelation of God to men, no holiness, no gift of the Holy Ghost, no salvation, no eternal life, no heaven, except in Christ, so

<sup>1</sup> Rom. 9, 20 and 11, 33; cf. *De Pec. Mer. et Rem.* 1, 21, 29, CV 60, p. 28; *Contra Duas Ep. Pel.* 2, 7, 16, CV 60, p. 476; *Ep.* 186, 6, 20, CV 57, 4, p. 61, *ibid.*, 7, 23, p. 63, and very often.

<sup>2</sup> *Sermo* 294, 7, 7, MPL 38, 1339.

<sup>3</sup> *Sermo* 45, 5, MPL 38, 265-266; *Sermo* 137, 1-2, MPL 38, 754-755; *Sermo* 129, 4, MPL 38, 322; *Enar. in Ps.* 30, 4, MPL 36, 252; *Enar. in Ps.* 74, 39, MPL 36, 948; it is needless to multiply citations, for Augustine interprets the Psalms of Christ speaking, not in His own individual person, but in the person of His body, the Church.

<sup>4</sup> *Enar. in Ps.* 142, 3, MPL 37, 1847; *Ps.* 138, 8, col. 194; *Ps.* 126, 7, col. 1672; *Ps.* 127, 11-12, col. 1684-5; *Sermo* 194, 9-10, MPL 38, 1340-1; *De Pec. Mer. et Rem.* 1, 26, 39, CV 60, p. 38, 4-14; *Sermo* 45, 5, MPL 38, 266, and very often.

<sup>5</sup> *In Ps.* 142, 3 end, MPL 37, 1847.

<sup>6</sup> *In Ps.* 140, 7, MPL 37, 1819.



likewise there is no revelation, no holiness, no gift of the Holy Ghost, no salvation, no eternal life, no heaven, except in His body, the Church.<sup>1</sup>

Now "no one is made a member of Christ, except by Baptism in Christ, or by death for Christ";<sup>2</sup> "outside the company of Christ no one can be saved, and, since the whole purpose of Baptism is to incorporate infants into the Church, that is, to make them sharers in Christ's body and members, it is clear that without Baptism they cannot be saved".<sup>3</sup> Infants "cannot have life outside the body of Christ, and that incorporation into Christ's body is given by Baptism".<sup>4</sup> "Without association with the one Mediator, and without the sacrament of that association, infants cannot be freed from damnation".<sup>5</sup> "Infants cannot have life unless they have Christ, and Him they cannot have unless they 'put Him on' in the way in which it is written, 'as many of you as have been baptized in Christ, have put on Christ', Gal. 3, 27."<sup>6</sup>

St Augustine draws the same conclusion from the concept of the Church as the Bride of Christ. We can be children of God only if we are children of our mother the Church.<sup>7</sup> It is the Church which gives birth to Christians in Baptism;<sup>8</sup> the baptismal font is like the womb of the Church,<sup>9</sup> and the Church is like the Virgin Mother of Christ, who gives spiritual birth to the brothers and sisters of Christ.<sup>10</sup> Hence, outside the visible Church there cannot be the spiritual rebirth, nor can there be children of God.

Very similar to this is his argument about the Eucharist. Unless we eat the flesh of the Son of Man, we cannot have life in us. But the unbaptized, and explicitly unbaptized infants, are

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in order: *In Ps.* 85, 1, MPL 37, 1082; *in Ps.* 185, 4, MPL 37, 1084; *De Bapt. contra Donat.* 6, 12, 19, CV 51, 1, pp. 310-311 and generally against the Donatists; *in Ps.* 90, 9-10, MPL 37, 1156-1157; *De Pec. Mer. et Rem.* 3, 4, 7, CV 60, p. 133; *Sermo* 91, 7, MPL 38, 570-1.

<sup>2</sup> *De Anima*, 1, 9, 10, CV 60, p. 311, 7-10.

<sup>3</sup> *De Pec. Mer. et Rem.* 3, 4, 7, CV 60, 133, 25-9.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 8, CV 60, p. 134, 19-21; and cf. *ibid.*, 1, 26, 39, p. 38, 11-13.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep.* 166, 7, 20, CV 44, 3, p. 574, 12-15.

<sup>6</sup> *C. Iul.* 6, 9, 27, MPL 44, 838.

<sup>7</sup> *In Ps.* 88, 14, MPL 37, 1140; *in Ps.* 188, 1 and 2, col. 1784-5.

<sup>8</sup> *In Ps.* 127, 12, MPL 37, 1685; *Sermo* 344, MPL 38, 1512.

<sup>9</sup> *Sermo* 56, 4, MPL 38, 379.

<sup>10</sup> Often, cf. *Sermo* 139, 9, 9, MPL 38, 767; *Sermo* 188, 4, *ibid.*, col. 1005; *Sermo* 91, 2, col. 1010 and often in his Christmas sermons.

excluded from receiving the Body of Christ in the Eucharist; consequently they are excluded from everlasting life. This was, in its primary application, a polemic argument against the Pelagian assertion that unbaptized infants could have eternal life: since they are excluded from the Eucharist, they are excluded from eternal life.<sup>1</sup> This argument was used by Pope Innocent I against the Pelagians,<sup>2</sup> as Augustine pointed out at least three times to the Pelagians.<sup>3</sup> But St Augustine understood the matter in a deeper sense. The Pelagians were not slow to object that people who die baptized but without receiving the Eucharist may go to eternal life, and consequently Augustine's argument is invalid.<sup>4</sup> But Augustine understands the eating of the flesh of Christ as living in His Body—*Nisi manducaverint homines carnem eius, hoc est, participes facti fuerint corporis eius*,<sup>5</sup> since they have the reality of which the Eucharist is the sign, since they have become the Body of Christ and have His life within them.<sup>6</sup> "The faithful," he says, "know the body of Christ, if they neglect not to be the body of Christ. Let them become the body of Christ, if they wish to live by the Spirit of Christ. . . . Would you live by the body of Christ? Be in the body of Christ. The body of Christ cannot live but by the Spirit of Christ. Thence it is that the Apostle Paul, explaining to us the nature of this bread, says: 'One bread, one body are we, being many.' O sacrament of piety! O sign of unity! O bond of charity! By this meat and drink, then, He means us to understand the fellowship of His body and members, which is Holy Church."<sup>7</sup>

It is this which Augustine means when he says that unbaptized infants are excluded from the Eucharist, and hence are excluded from life in the body of Christ, both the Body in the Eucharist, and the body of the Church, which Augustine sees

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *De Pec. Mer. et Rem.* 1, 22, 33, CV 60, 33, 2; *ibid.*, 1, 24, 34, p. 34, 1-7; *ibid.*, 3, 4, 8, p. 134, 14-16; *Contra Duas Ep. Pel.* 1, 22, 40, CV 60, p. 458, 1-10; *De Praed. Sanct.* 8, 15, MPL 45, 972; *Op. Imp. c. Iul.* 3, 37, MPL 45, 1265, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep.* 30, 5, MPL 20, 592.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep.* 186, 8, 28, CV 47, p. 68, 7-8; *C. Duas Ep. Pel.* 2, 4, 7, CV 60, p. 467, where he cites Innocent's words; *C. Iul.* 1, 4, 14, MPL 44, 648.

<sup>4</sup> *De Pec. Mer. et Rem.* 1, 20, 27, CV 60, p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> *De Pec. Mer. et Rem.* 3, 4, 8, CV 60, p. 134, 14-16.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *In Ioan.* 6, *Hom.* 26, 13, MPL 35, 1612-1614.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

as identified. In this sense Innocent,<sup>1</sup> likewise, may be understood; and Pope Gelasius I,<sup>2</sup> who uses exactly this same argument against the distinction between eternal life and the kingdom of heaven. Divine Providence, he says, arranged that Christ should exclude this heretical distinction by saying: "Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, you shall not have life in you." "Hence, it is useless for the Pelagians to say that unregenerate infants are excluded only from the kingdom of heaven"; for without eating Christ's flesh and drinking His blood, they have no life in them, and without Baptism, they cannot have life within them and must remain spiritually dead.

It is open to discussion whether St Augustine held that this argument from the need of union with the visible Church is absolutely cogent merely of itself; but he did not use it merely of itself and apart from the belief of the Church. Taken together with the existing belief of the Church, and together with the sense of other passages of Scripture, he saw that it fitted into a coherent whole. His doctrine on the Mystical Body of Christ, which identified this Body with the visible Church, fitted aptly with the rest; and undoubtedly made him suspicious of a principle which conceded salvation, and eternal life, without any visible bond with the Church. Difficulties, indeed, may be urged against this reasoning of St Augustine, from the case of adults whom he does not exclude from salvation in the same absolute manner in which he excludes infants; the bond which links them with the visible Church may appear but tenuous. Nevertheless, it is a bond which cannot in any way be found in infants who die unbaptized, and the obscure should not be introduced in an endeavour to cast a shadow upon what is in itself perfectly clear.

To end, then, the substantial fact may again be recorded: The Church, as far as all evidence shows, from the second to the seventh century, universally believed it to be revealed that an infant dying before any use of reason, and unbaptized, cannot attain to the beatific vision. The weight of this assertion must be obvious. St Augustine's belief is summed up in these words:

<sup>1</sup> *Ep.* 30, 5, MPL 21, 592.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep.* 7, MPL 59, 37.

"*Noli credere nec dicere nec docere 'infantes antequam baptizentur morte praeventos pervenire posse ad originalium indulgentiam peccatorum', si vis esse catholicus.*"<sup>1</sup>

BERNARD LEEMING, S.J.

*Editor's Note.*—The author hopes in subsequent articles to follow the history of this question through the Middle Ages up to modern times.

## REVOLUTION AND REACTION IN TUDOR ENGLAND

THE high expectations aroused three years ago by Father Philip Hughes' first volume will be amply satisfied by this second volume<sup>2</sup> which covers the eighteen years from 1540 to 1558, that is, the last seven years of Henry VIII and the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I. Needless to say, it is all of it of the same high quality, clear, accurate and vigorous; there is here no danger of a history turning into a pamphlet. Father Hughes gives his readers a Macaulayan combination of animated narrative and vivid detail with a truly enormous amount of additional information and discussion in the footnotes. No other historian supplies so much biographical detail about the men mentioned in his text and the value of this will be understood when it is remembered how the secretaries and subordinates of Wolsey and Cromwell and Gardiner became the Bishops and Privy Counsellors of a later day. The continuity of the whole work is thus secured. These three acts of the tragedy may well be styled *Religio Depopulata*, for in the last years of Henry VIII the Church in England was dislocated, under Edward VI its whole structure was disrupted and—the melancholy truth must be admitted—by Mary's unfortunate reign it was actually discredited.

<sup>1</sup> *De Anima*, 3, 9, 12, CV 60, p. 369, 1-4.

<sup>2</sup> *The Reformation in England*, II *Religio Depopulata*, by Philip Hughes. Hollis & Carter, 1953. 42s. net.

As in Vol. I, a distinctive feature of the production is the choice of the illustrations. Of these there are no fewer than thirty-two, all duly provided with "catalogue" particulars of provenance, description of detail and, in some cases, explanations. Fifteen of them are vital documents of the period and these include the Bishops' Book, the Great Bible of King Henry VIII, the King's Book, 1543, the Prayer Book of 1549 and that of 1552, the Forty-Two Articles 1553, the Sarum Missal 1557, and the Sarum Primer 1558, the two latter being "the last books of the Latin Rite produced in London for the Catholic Church until our own times". The mere sight of the heavy black-letter pages and the samples of Henry's actual handwriting, or Mary's, or Cranmer's, does much more to enforce the significance of the story than would any conventional illustrations. The portraits, too, are very well chosen: first, the Prado portrait of Mary by Sir Antonio Mor; Cranmer and Gardiner; then four portraits of politicians, Russell, Edward Seymour, Dudley and Paget; next, four heresiarchs, Peter Martyr Vermigli, Latimer, Ridley and Martin Bucer; lastly, as if by way of climax, Julius III, Charles V, Reginald Pole and Paul IV. We have here Titian's vision of the fox-like Emperor; he is sombre in black velvet relieved only by the little white shirt-collar and the Golden Fleece; the better of the two portraits of Pole, not the sleek Italian diplomat of Sebastiano del Piombo, but the far more convincing picture that belongs to Mr R. S. A. Arundell; the two papal portraits, from contemporary engravings, speak plainly for themselves.

The last years of Henry VIII, usually so hurriedly passed over as if nothing of importance happened between the execution of Cromwell and the death of the King, are here very clearly explained as a vacillating but constant progress towards heresy. The Supreme Head on Earth presides uneasily over an episcopate divided into three groups: those headed by Gardiner and Tunstall, mainly Catholic in belief, but strongly tinged with anti-papalism, who would restrain him if they dared attempt it; the Protestant group, headed by Cranmer who was working stealthily for union with Reformers abroad and for that *consensus piae doctrinae* which he so long and so vainly desired; a third group represented by Holgate of York whose doc-

trine was "the main chance" and who were ready to do whatever they were told.<sup>1</sup> Henry's general attitude during those last seven years can be judged by the fact that he chose three Reformers as tutors for his son-and-heir; Sir John Cheke, Sir Anthony Cooke, and Dr Richard Cox, and that he left behind him a Council in which there was not one decided Catholic, Gardiner being excluded. As long as Henry lived, Cranmer had to be very careful, but nevertheless when drafting a new liturgy in 1546 he managed to obtain a provisional consent to an English Order of the Communion, a thing that would have been inconceivable seven years earlier.

The governing facts are the four different statements of belief that were put out between 1536 and 1543. The somewhat Lutheran Ten Articles of 1536 and the "reactionary" Six Articles of 1539 have been dealt with in Father Hughes' first volume. Here we have a full analysis of the Bishops' Book of 1537 (*The Institution of a Christian Man*), and of the King's Book of 1543. The former, which was without explicit royal authority, was a sort of compromise, of multiple authorship, for even Barlow was said to have contributed to it. The King's judgement about the meaning of Scripture was said to be decisive. All the "particular churches" were members of the Universal Catholic Church and Rome a part thereof, though by no means the head. On the essential thing it is quite clear: the King is the apex of human society "of right and by God's commandment"; and there is the good news that the new state of things will not only be more edifying and spiritually profitable but will also lead to the increase of commodity and riches. In its 180 pages there is just one about the Holy Eucharist—as Communion, not the Mass. In the King's Book, with many differences, the same singularity appears; in its treatment of the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist there is no statement that the Mass is a sacrifice. The gist of the whole thing is that Christian kings and princes will provide their subjects with ministers who can and will teach them the true doctrine of Christ in whatsoever country they may live, so that, as Father Hughes comments, "a man's duty in 1543 . . . is to be what is nowadays

<sup>1</sup> Holgate, at sixty-eight years of age, took a wife when directed by Somerset to do so.

called a Roman Catholic if he be a Spaniard or a Frenchman or a Scot, to be a Lutheran if the Elector of Saxony is his prince, or, if he be English or Irish, to be whatever at this moment King Henry VIII is". This analysis, necessary for a clear understanding of the process, has not hitherto been made with anything like the same precision. The notion of a "Henrician Schism" is finally disposed of; and so, too, is Pollard's extraordinary statement that Henry and Elizabeth were "Catholics at heart". And this powerful treatment of what has been left in obscurity ought once and for all to clear the minds of those who, in the words of Maitland, assert that the Church in England was Protestant before the Reformation and Catholic after it. The essential thing here is that the author is a trained theologian as well as an historian, two things seldom found together in the same person. Twentieth-century historians in England have been, and are, mostly Agnostics, which is no qualification for interpreting the controversies of the sixteenth century. For some forty years, say from 1531 to 1570, of Tudor England we are in a kaleidoscope and the story cannot be properly told by anyone to whom theological statements have little or no meaning.

Part I closes with an incisive estimate of the characters of Henry's principal agents. There was not among them one really good man. They were "wicked from ambition or from greed or from cowardice, or wicked from the deliberate consent to evil in the hope that good may be ultimately achieved". "There was treason," says Father Hughes, "to the most elementary precepts of morality, to the most sacred of human instincts, treason in some cases to the innermost convictions of religious belief: nowhere even a faint approximation to the moral dignity of Fisher or More, of the Carthusians who preceded them to death, or of Catherine." And now all was ready for the real Protestant revolution.

The death of Henry transferred the Royal Supremacy to a sickly boy of nine and the way was now clear for Cranmer's programme. A master of dignified and melodious English, always lucid except when writing about the Holy Eucharist, his learning, ability and industry had enabled Henry to set forth whatever he wished to set forth in the most suitable manner.



Henry's two main objects, Anne Boleyn and the monastic wealth, were not easily expressed in theological or devotional terms, but Cranmer knew how to overcome difficulties of that kind. The bishops had now to petition the new Supreme Head for a renewal of their episcopal jurisdiction which had lapsed. Then came the Book of Homilies, the First Prayer Book, 1549, the new Ordinal (1550) in lieu of the *Pontifical*, the Second Prayer Book, 1552. The Forty-Two Articles of 1553 (which eventually became the Thirty-Nine) and lastly the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, the new code of Canon Law which would have been enacted if Edward VI had lived a little longer. Of this it is only necessary to say that it explicitly proposed the penalty of death for "heresy". On this point Cranmer was exactly of the same mind as Gardiner and Bonner. Pollard's remark, "Whatever that may mean" about the phrase for the doom of the heretic, "ad civiles magistratus ablegetur puniendus", is really astonishing; he knew very well what it meant.

The fact that the Edwardine Reformation was a governmental and not a popular movement is shown by the manner in which it was fed and fostered by teachers brought in from abroad. John à Lasco from Poland was the first to be invited, "to the delight of all godly persons", but he arrived late. Martin Bucer, and Paul Fagius from Rheinzabern were the first to receive hospitality at Lambeth. There came from Strasburg Peter Martyr Vermigli, an ex-Austin Canon who had been Prior at Naples; from Augsburg came Bernardino Ochino, ex-Capuchin Vicar-General; Peter Alexander from Arles; Francisco Encinas, known as Dryander, a Spanish Lutheran; Jan Utenhove, the Flemish founder of the French Protestant church at Canterbury; Emmanuel Tremellio, a Jew from Ferrara; Valérand Poullain, Calvin's successor at Strasburg; John ab Ulmis and John Rodolph Stumphius, satellites of Peter Martyr and adepts in the art of eliciting gifts from patrons, Christopher Froschover, nephew of the great printer; Michael Angelo Florio, pastor of the Italian Protestants until expelled for immorality; François Péroussel, ex-monk; Richard Vauville, an ex-Augustinian from Berry (who had married Hooper's maidservant), the first pastor of the French church in London, and many more. Bucer was made Professor of Divinity at

Cambridge, Martyr at Oxford. Others received appointments as Readers. John à Lasco became Superintendent of the Calvinist church at Austin Friars. The setting-up of autonomous foreign churches in London did not please Ridley but he was powerless against Cranmer and Hooper. Some of the foreigners, however, were a little too extreme; complaint was made of the arrival of "Arians, Marcionists, Libertines, Donatists and similar monsters". These foreigners all left the country at Mary's accession, but the invasion had lasting consequences, for the doctrines thus disseminated proved a fatal legacy to Elizabeth's *Ecclesia Anglicana*.

Before long the usual division of function was observable in the Reformers. Father Hughes makes this clear by first dealing with theological and liturgical matters in his chapter, "The Nation and the Revolution", and then under the title, "The Profits of the Situation", with the activities of the politicians. A tacit bargain had been struck almost from the beginning of the reign. The divines were to have a free hand with doctrine: the nobles with the endowments. A vast system of plunder operated by Somerset, Warwick (John Dudley) and the Lords of the Council brought poverty, misery, discontent, and at length armed insurrections which had to be put down by foreign mercenaries. The Chantries Act of 1547 was so used as almost to destroy the educational system of the country. Then came "The Great Pillage", whereby everything of any value in the parish churches was taken or smashed—nothing was left but one chalice and one paten in each church. If Edward VI had lived a few years longer episcopacy would have been abolished and the episcopal and capitular estates would have all passed into lay hands. The episcopal estates had already been heavily plundered by Henry; this was continued by Somerset and systematically by Elizabeth, and the endowments of the cathedral chapters would obviously have been the next target. Northumberland would certainly have got rid of Cranmer and Hooper would have been made Superintendent of a Zwinglian church.

There were of course the same excellent reasons for dislike of episcopacy as of monasticism. "That most faithful and intrepid soldier of Christ", Northumberland, had a clear-cut plan for obtaining most of the possessions of the great see of Durham.

The ancient bishopric was to be dissolved, most of its endowments to vest in the Crown and to be applied to the uses of the Lord Warden of the Scottish Marches, and two new sees, very slenderly endowed, were to be set up for Durham and Newcastle respectively. But it did not come to pass. John Knox, who was then preaching in the North, had to be got out of the way and was accordingly offered the bishopric of Rochester. But "Mr Knocks" declined to go South, and the death of the boy king, 6 July 1553, put an end to the godly scheme. "The most holy and fearless instrument of the Word of God" then made his celebrated attempt to put his son and daughter-in-law on the throne, which Father Hughes rightly calls "the most impudent plot of the whole sixteenth century".

The question that every reader and critic will ask is: what is the author's treatment of the reign of Mary? The extreme difficulty of her position is made very clear. The poor state of things at the death of Henry VIII "had been aggravated by the events of the six years in which England had been at the mercy of the men whom Henry's famous will had installed as the government". Mary, the first queen-regnant England had ever known, was utterly without experience of administration or of public affairs and devoid of political skill. She was obliged to take as her counsellors, for there were no others, the men who had recently acquiesced in an attempt to exclude her from the throne. The nobles and higher officials were not really Catholics but *politiques*—it would have been astonishing had they been anything else. The mass of the people had what Newman calls "material" not "formal" faith, a thing of use and wont, and after years of licence had no desire for the restoration of any clerical authority over the laity. There was a small minority of violent fanatics who were determined to make trouble. "The vigour and utter intransigence of the genuine Protestants, their militantly aggressive spirit, more than made up for the fewness of their numbers." These Arian and Anabaptist "sectaries", who would eventually have been burnt by Cranmer, were no pioneers of religious liberty or toleration. They were very much akin to the fanatics who were making havoc in Scotland and to the Huguenot storm-troopers who were soon to create civil war in France.

There is no set piece describing Mary's character, but the author has a firm opinion about the execution of Lady Jane Grey. He calls it "the one real crime—a terrible, typical, Tudor act of blood—to disfigure Mary's reign"; and again he says: "if Mary could consent to Jane Grey's execution, who shall set limits to what she could do or be believed to have done?"

As a kind of counterpart to the invasion of foreign heretics there was at the beginning of her reign an exodus of leading English Protestants. They settled in the centres of the Reformation, Strasburg, Frankfort, Basel, Geneva, and remained there till the death of Mary. This interesting episode, so important for the understanding of the way the "alteration of religion" was swiftly brought about in Elizabeth's first year, has already been studied in Father Hughes' *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in England*, but it has a necessary place in this narrative, not only on general grounds but for the reason that, whereas these exiles were everywhere welcomed by the Calvinists, they were absolutely rejected by the Lutherans. The reason, of course, was that they were Zwinglians, i.e. believers in the "Real Absence" and, to Lutherans, deep in heresy, so much so that the latter would never acknowledge that those who suffered in England were martyrs.

The movement began as an obvious measure of self-preservation. Among the 800 persons or thereabouts were nobles, gentry, clergy, divinity students, merchants, lawyers and physicians, with their wives and children; very few of them were poor persons. Four Protestant bishops were among them: Barlow (Bath and Wells), Scory (Chichester), Ponet (Winchester) and Coverdale (Exeter);<sup>1</sup> and—equally famous—John Foxe, the martyrologist, was at Strasburg and then at Frankfort. This colony was largely maintained by subsidies from England. Soon it was turned into an organized Protestant party in regular communication with Cecil. Active among them were Sir John Cheke and Sir Antony Cooke who had been tutors to Edward VI; the former was Cecil's father-in-law and the latter was to be father-in-law both to Cecil and to Nicholas Bacon. From these colonies came a good deal of the pamphlet literature which kept alive sedition as well as heresy in England.

<sup>1</sup> It will be noticed that three of these four were consecrators afterwards of Matthew Parker.

Emigrés are apt to quarrel among themselves. At Frankfort there was so violent and bitter a quarrel between John Knox and Richard Cox that the followers of the latter did not hesitate to accuse Knox to the magistrates of treason against the Emperor. They also complained to Calvin that Knox's outrageous writings had "added much to the flame of persecution in England". It was these men who were to determine the general character of Elizabethan churchmanship.

A great matter for speculation is: "How far Pole's presence by Mary's side in those first weeks of her reign would have changed her history—and ours—for the better." It is open to doubt, for "no more than Mary was the cardinal fitted by nature to deal with the varied human vileness that sat around the Queen's Council board. But one thing is very certain: the Queen would not then, ever, have sacrificed to Spain either herself or the prospects of restoring the Catholicism still latent in the souls of her people." Pole, however, was kept out of England for sixteen months, the Spanish Marriage took place, Gardiner was estranged, and the mischief was done.

Pole's influence on secular affairs, which could never have been very strong, was diminished by his scruples about the lawfulness of the retention of the monastic property acquired at the Dissolution. Here, as in two other instances, Rome was wiser than the man on the spot.<sup>1</sup> In no circumstances could Pole have played the part of Morton, Fox or Wolsey, for he altogether lacked that strain of hardness necessary in a successful politician. Like Mary, he would not and could not disentangle secular from religious and moral questions. The one political question he was quite clear about was that the Spanish Match was "universally odious" to the English people.

One important aspect of Pole's legatine duties was the determination of the validity of certain consecrations of bishops and of many ordinations of priests during the years of confusion. Some of these men were validly ordained and consecrated, some validly ordained but invalidly consecrated, such as Ferrar and Hooper. The test was whether the Catholic *Pontifical* or the

<sup>1</sup> Innocent XI and Alexander VIII, while refusing absolutely to accept the Four Gallican Articles, gave way to Louis XIV in the matter of the *régale*; and, in our own time, Pius X was ready, even eager, to let go all Church property in France sooner than accept Briand's *Associations Culturelles*.

Edwardine *Ordinal* had been used. Many priests were therefore unconditionally re-ordained. In distinguishing these cases Pole acted upon instructions from Julius III issued in March 1554. It was the discovery of these instructions and the record of Pole's action thereunder that constituted the material evidence on the historical side of the question when the validity of Anglican Orders was under examination in 1896. So much has been published on the question of Anglican Orders that there was assuredly no need for its discussion here and the more so as every page of this work bears either directly or indirectly on the matter. But, if only for the sake of completeness, the degradation in certain cases of condemned heretics from either the episcopal or the sacerdotal order might have been more explicitly dealt with.

Some twenty pages are here devoted to Pole's spiritual mission as Legate. The re-establishment of a legitimate episcopate was a task of some complexity and there was much else to be done. Father Hughes holds that some of the criticism of Pole has been stupid as well as unjust. He was not to blame for the vacancies in the English sees at the time of his death. In only three cases, Salisbury, Oxford and Bangor, had there been any appreciable delay and this was entirely due to the eccentric conduct of Paul IV. That most irascible Pontiff, carried away by hatred of Spain, had cancelled Pole's legatine commission, appointed an aged and decrepit Franciscan friar to succeed him, and actually summoned Pole to Rome. Mary very properly refused to recognize these irresponsible acts, but what neither she nor Pole could prevent was the holding-up of the English appointments. A deadlock existed during the last months of her reign and that is the real reason why Elizabeth's Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity only just got through the House of Lords by the narrowest majorities.

The fatal defect was the inadequacy of the parochial clergy, a defect that had existed all through the Middle Ages, and longer. Thus the greatest of all the Tridentine reforms was the decree on diocesan seminaries. There had never been any organized or even recognized training of candidates for Holy Orders and the haphazard methods had produced and accumulated the evils that brought about the Reformation. Father

Hughes here points out very justly that the Reformers nevertheless continued the haphazard methods. "Not until 300 years after Pole and Treat were the successors of Cranmer and Ridley and Matthew Parker to give their attention to provide places where men would not only be taught theology but be trained for the work of the pastoral ministry." The "theological college" did not appear in the Anglican Church till the middle of the nineteenth century, though they had reason to be aware of the efficacy of seminaries since the days of Cardinal Allen.<sup>1</sup>

The conclusion of all this is that Acts of Parliament, decrees of a national synod, the burning of heretics and "the dubious conformity of a populace too worldly to be really interested in religion of any kind" were all insufficient. What the Catholic cause needed, says Father Hughes, was a great work of missionary zeal, some powerful force like St Peter Canisius. Even if Mary had lived for years longer, if Pole had never been thwarted by the blind animosity of Paul IV, the task would have been insurmountable. Had Mary succeeded her father immediately she could never have undone more than a fraction of the mischief he had done between 1531 and 1547. The whole chapter merits the closest attention, for it is full of information that has never before been assembled and presented with such clarity and vigour.

There is a curious parallelism between the reigns of Mary and of James II. Both endured long and embittered years before accession; in both cases there was a determined effort at exclusion from the throne. Each of their short reigns began with an unwarranted insurrection, was filled with hatred and commotion, and was followed by lasting obloquy created by a mendacious book that was a best-seller.<sup>2</sup> If Mary had had a reign of

<sup>1</sup> Two other mediaeval anomalies were saleable lay patronage (though saleability is now almost extinguished) and the fact that an Anglican bishop has no authority over, or rights in, his cathedral, which is wholly in the control of the dean.

<sup>2</sup> v. *The Bloody Assize*, by J. G. Muddiman, 1930. The original "martyrology" was the joint work of Titus Oates and John Tutchin, a composer of "dying speeches", a Rye House Plot criminal and a Sedgemoor rebel. It sold enormously, there were five editions, each successive edition being expanded with fresh inventions, notably the sadistic speeches put into the mouth of Jeffreys. For Oates it was revenge for his punishment, as well as gain. Macaulay, by embodying the whole thing in his *History of England* (and adding to it), has firmly planted it in every history book in the English language. Muddiman's masterly analysis of the legend and its concoction has received very little attention—as might be expected.



any appreciable length very little would have been heard of the burnings—there was no horror expressed, either then or subsequently, or, for that matter, by the historians, about the burnings carried out by her father before or after the breach with Rome; and, if James II had died as King of England, after a number of years on the throne, very little would have been heard of the Bloody Assize. The main difference in the matter is that, whereas the work of Oates and Tutchin was largely fiction, Foxe's "monument of invective" was based on fact though full of the grossest distortion, partiality and exaggeration. It became, probably, for that reason, enormously popular and indeed as Pollard says "a second Bible". It was believed implicitly and did its work thoroughly<sup>1</sup> and it is remarkable that until 1940 no real and critical account of it appeared, although it had been characterized as "a mass of unsorted fact and fiction" and still more sternly criticized by James Gairdner.

Father Hughes brings to bear upon it his taste and gift for figures. Statistics of how many suffered in each county and each town and in each year are doubtless useful but Father Hughes has extracted something much more to the point by investigating the interesting question, by what agency these various people came to be put on trial as heretics, in other words, the question: with whom did the persecution originate? Lingard, who is almost always right, though he wrote long before the days of specialism, says that this is "a matter of uncertainty". Pollard says that Parliament "put at the disposal of the Church the executive machinery of the State", implying thereby that the persecution originated with the ecclesiastics, though he says in another place, and more correctly, that "Mary and her Council must bear the chief burden of the blame". Father Hughes goes into the matter very closely by first pointing out that in the course of thirty years there was a considerable difference in the treatment of heresy. Before 1532 the initiative had lain with the ecclesiastics; the State only came in as executioner—in Tyndale's phrase, "as hangman to the Pope". But under Mary this was reversed. The State, we find, is now taking the

<sup>1</sup> When James II started proceedings against the Seven Bishops and sent them to the Tower, it must have reminded people brought up on Foxe of the five bishops burnt by Mary. For generations the only books in thousands of English homes were the Bible, Foxe's *Booke* and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.

initiative and only using the churchmen as the technical experts to certify that heresy is present. A commission was appointed by Royal proclamation in February 1557 "to inquire and search out all such persons as obstinately do refuse to hear Mass, etc., etc. . . .", and justices of the peace, sheriffs, mayors, grand juries and so forth were all put under the authority of this commission for the purpose. That clearly originated in the Privy Council. Out of the 273 who were burnt Foxe gives information in 102 cases about the way in which the accused came to be arrested and charged. Of these 102 persons 12 were already in prison before the heresy laws were revived; 60 were taken up by justices, constables and other officials; 13 were informed against by their neighbours "and friends"; 8 of them had publicly challenged the authorities; one was delated by an informer, for reward; one was arrested by direct order of the Council; only 7 were charged by clerical initiative. These figures indicate that Mary and her Council were the real persecutors. The number of executions varied very greatly in different dioceses; most were burned in Kent, not through the ferocity of Pole, but because that county swarmed with "Anabaptists".

But there is another and very sinister aspect of the matter which has not previously been explained and treated with candour, as it is treated here. It is all very well to urge, as we all know, that heresy was then everywhere treated as a capital crime and that Luther, Calvin, Bullinger, Melancthon, Cranmer, Ridley, Knox all had on their hands the execution of people whom they deemed heretics. But many of the people arraigned before Marian bishops had never been brought up in the Catholic faith. They were too young. They were born and grew up during the period of national apostasy. They had never heard anything but abuse of the Pope, denial of Catholic doctrines and derision of certain Catholic devotions—and some of them had heard all that from the men who now were trying them for heresy! By 1553 England was no longer a Catholic country, in the full sense of the phrase. There was assuredly a majority who preferred Catholic doctrine and usages, especially the Mass, to any "Prayer Book" or "Articles". But they were not Catholic enough to offer general or national resistance either to the Edward VI régime or to its restoration in 1559.

Above all, they wished to have done with Rome and Roman Canon Law. Was it just, then, that those people who had had none but Protestant teaching, or alternate instalments of conflicting teaching, should be treated as lapsed Catholics? The Marian bishops chose to assume for their own convenience and in some cases for their own justification that England had been fully and wholly Catholic up to the date of the death of Henry VIII—28 January 1547. That covered the awkward period for themselves, when most of them were in heresy and all of them in schism. But the point did not escape the notice of the accused Protestants, some of whom counter-attacked the judges declaring that they too had held and taught the doctrines for which the prisoners stood in peril of the stake, and there is a special Appendix on this important aspect of the matter. The whole question is handled with candour and insight and mastery, and it constitutes perhaps the most important, certainly the most distinctive, part of a very remarkable book.

It only remains to add that the arrangement, documentation and accuracy of the present volume are equal to and in fact identical with the high merits of the first volume. When we have the third and concluding portion on the reign of Elizabeth, general readers, students, historical scholars, in short all who can appreciate what is involved in historical work of the highest standard, will have cause to rejoice in a very valuable possession.

J. J. DWYER

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### STEMMING THE TIDE

A YOUNG enquirer who suspected that belief in God was induced by our desperate need for Him met a sick and ailing priest. The encounter was very brief but it made a deep impression upon her. She had recognized the love that informed him and she knew that love and consideration are not the usual hallmark of the chronic invalid. She understood that the religion which produced such effects could not be the result of illusion.

This story seems to give the key to the solution of the prob-

lem of helping the lapsed as well as attracting non-Catholics to the Faith. In considering how lapses can be prevented and how the lapsed can be restored, we must think of our attitude to the problem as well as the best means of prevention and cure. There is no doubt that prevention lies in the steps that are taken in any parish to make the Faith a living reality to children and adolescents.

It is obvious that the seeds of Catholic faith and living should be planted in the home. Good parents not only teach the child about God and our Lady; they give him the kind of love and protection that makes it easy for him to believe in the Fatherhood of God and the maternal care of Mary. Living on earth as citizens of heaven they make the eternal verities a living reality to the child. In a thousand ways they bring the life of the spirit into the life of the family and with their help the child learns to know and love God and our Lady and the Saints from his earliest years. The children of such homes are unlikely to forswear their heavenly birthright.

We must face the fact, however, that in every parish there will be Catholic parents who do not show forth the love of God or teach their children to know Him. Children will not learn God's will from hard and pleasure-seeking parents, and the Divine Fatherhood with the all-loving motherhood of Mary will mean little to those who do not know the love of earthly parents. These children will be dependent on the school for their knowledge of Him.

Religious instruction is a technical subject and can be dealt with by specialists alone. The good teacher will know how to make the bare bones live and how to permeate all the lessons and the games of the day with the Faith. One thing is certain: techniques of teaching and modern methods are important, but however good they may be they will fail unless the teacher shows forth the love of God and the kindness of our Lady. Children learn most from the personality of the teacher and the Catholic teacher must be the living example of the truth he teaches.

The parish priest has a most important role to play in the lives of Catholic children. He instructs them and hears their confessions. He is their loving and understanding father, he

makes them welcome in their Father's house. There are parishes where the smallest children come to visit our Lord bringing with them their dolls and teddy bears. Children flock to the sacraments, not because they are forced to do so but because they have learned the love of Jesus from their priests and teachers. These are the healthy parishes where the danger of lapsing is diminished.

The children of the parish are the concern of the parishioners. We may be able to show our love for them only by a smile but we should never see them as they serve at the altar, as they accompany our Lord in the Corpus Christi procession, as they kneel at the altar rail or wait in the confession queue, without praying that they may always keep the treasure of the Faith. We must take our part in making them welcome; not turning them out of our seats or frowning at the disturbance to our devotions caused by youthful restlessness.

The adolescents of the parish go out into a workaday world that is filled with temptation to faith and morals. They have the human desire for love and pleasure and they are offered the tinsel pleasures which are the world's substitute for happiness.

Adolescence is a time of exceptional difficulty, a time when physical changes are disturbing, when emotion is in a state of flux, when freedom is passionately desired, and rules and discipline are irksome. It is a time of testing, not only for the adolescent but for those who are trying to help him.

The Youth Movements and Clubs of the parish must be up to date. They must offer all that is good in recreation and the leaders must know how to spiritualize all their activities. They should provide spiritual instruction that is suited to the ages of their members, so that they may keep the faith of children with the knowledge of adults. At the same time it must be remembered that young people who have worked all day need relaxation and therefore any teaching that is offered must be made attractive. There must be a number of activities but, whether it be hiking, playing table tennis or learning dressmaking and the art of skilful make-up, all must be done for the glory of God and in the spirit of apostleship. Catholic youth has a vital part to play as apostles in shop, factory and university, and needs training and encouragement.

Adolescents may appear to be hard-boiled but they are in great need of understanding friends and they should find this friendship in the officers of their Ranger Companies and the leaders of their Clubs. The Leader should be intuitive, ready to discuss any subject without shame or disgust and capable of keeping confidences. The Catholic Youth Leader cannot be successful unless his activity is rooted in prayer.

The adolescents of the parish are the concern of all the parishioners and our attitude to them should be one of sympathy and understanding rather than carping criticism. We may be able to do little to help them but we should have a great respect for them and pray that they may grow ever closer to Christ, who knows all that lies in the path of boys and girls approaching the threshold of adult life. Surely our Lord will blame us greatly if the adolescents have weighed us up and thought: I don't want to be a devout Catholic if it means being like him or her.

The rescue of the lapsed is the business of every Catholic, and there can be few who do not meet with people who have fallen away from the Faith. We are fond of working out great schemes for their reclamation. We spend much time arguing about the best means of bringing them back and we are apt to think that whatever innovation appeals to us will stem the tide. Many blame the clergy or the teachers but too few of us blame ourselves. The lapsed are individuals and they will be restored to God by individuals. They, too, need friendship, understanding and love. Often the lapsed have lost all sense of spiritual values, all belief in that which is not apprehended by the senses alone. They will know God only as they see Him in the Catholics they meet, they will only know Him as all-lovable when they see how much we love Him. They will not see our love because of our pious practices, they will not hear it in our pious talk, and they may well be repelled by a display of religion. They will see God in our happiness, our joy, our patience, and our love for them, for, as Père Bernadot has told us, "the joyous soul is an apostle, drawing men to God". They will see God in our charity if that charity be costly, not so much in money as in time and effort and understanding.

It is our attitude to the lapsed that is so important. Often

we lack understanding of the difficulties which caused the fall, difficulties which we ourselves might have met in no better fashion. We are apt to pass by with a shrug at their weakness, with contempt for their disloyalty. At best we are too often shocked and scandalized rather than wounded or hurt. We ought to grieve with our Lord and share this heavy burden with love—love and sorrow for Him because His love is rejected, love and compassion for His children who have cast aside love and joy. We must look at the problem with our Lady and share her grief in the rejection of her Son.

And so we must pray without ceasing. We must pray for the lapsed. We must pray for our priests, the dispensers of the food by which we live, our teachers and our leaders in the warfare against the power of Satan. It is prayer and respect rather than criticism that will help our priests to win back the lapsed. We must pray for ourselves that we may never cause another to lose his faith by an uncharitable action or a hasty word.

Our whole life must be prayer for it is only through deep and constant prayer in times of consolation and in times of aridity alike that we shall learn to think the thoughts of Christ, to feel with the Heart of Christ. It is only through prayer that we shall care enough about the problem of the lapsed to be hurt by it, and it is only when we suffer that we can be used to the full by our Lord, and so help Him to rescue the lost and straying sheep that He loves so dearly.

FRANCES MEREDITH

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QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS<sup>1</sup>

DESCRIPTION OF "CHURCH" FOR INDULGENCE

In the Marian Year may the indulgence under n. 1 be gained by visiting a convent chapel dedicated to our Lady, or by visiting a church dedicated to the Holy Family? (X.)

REPLY

*S. Paenit.*, 11 November 1953; THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1954, XXXIX, p. 108. I. Plenariam indulgentiam ab omnibus Christifidelibus toties lucranda quoties ipsi . . . quodlibet templum in honorem Beatae Mariae Virginis exstructum . . . visitaverint. . . .

i. The decree of the Sacred Penitentiary describes the building as "templum" which, saving some authoritative decision to the contrary, seems to be a generic term with the same meaning as "aedes sacra" in canon 1161, and therefore includes not only a church but also a public or semi-public oratory, and a convent chapel comes under the latter category. The community using this chapel dedicated to our Lady may regard it as a church in any case from canon 929; and if our interpretation of the word "templum" is correct all the faithful may do so likewise for the purpose of gaining the indulgence under n. 1.

Moreover, the decree states "templum exstructum" not "templum dedicatum" which might raise all kinds of doubts respecting buildings erected in our Lady's honour, but neither consecrated nor blessed with the appropriate rite of the Pontifical or Ritual. It seems that the Sacred Penitentiary has chosen the generic term "templum exstructum" designedly, and the term is best translated as "a place of worship built in our Lady's honour".

ii. That the title "Holy Family" is not equivalent to "our Lady" could be argued from the Missal *Tabellae* which place

<sup>1</sup> The proofs of these items, and of several others to be published in subsequent issues, were corrected by the late author only a few hours before his death.—EDITOR.

the Holy Family amongst the Feasts of our Lord, and from the common opinion which regards something belonging to a family collectively as by no means equivalent to something belonging to one member of the family.

The opposite opinion could be argued from rubrics settling (more or less!) the notion of "identity" with respect to second prayers "ne bis de eodem",<sup>1</sup> and by regarding the three persons of the Holy Family as an example, liturgically speaking of course, of titulars "aeque principales".

These arguments are weighed by a writer in *Ephemerides Liturgicae*<sup>2</sup> in deciding against saying the *Gloria in excelsis* in a votive Mass of the Holy Family on a Saturday, and this decision equally applies to our question in the sense that a place of worship erected in honour of the Holy Family is more probably not included in n. 1 of the Marian Year indulgences. But this is by no means certain, so that for the time being either view may be followed.

#### PRE-CODE MARRIAGE AND DOUBTFUL BAPTISM

Apart from an *ipse dixit* of Cappello: "Praesumptio, de qua in can. 1070, §2, applicatur etiam matrimonii ante Codicem initis, si de eorum valore dubitetur" (Vol. V., n. 419, f) are there any convincing reasons why the principle of can. 10 should not be applied in these cases? (Iratus.)

#### REPLY

Canon 10. Leges respiciunt futura, non praeterita, nisi nominatim in eis de praeteritis caveatur.

Canon 1070, §2. Si pars tempore contracti matrimonii tanquam baptizata communiter habebatur aut eius baptismus erat dubius, standum est, ad normam can. 1014, pro valore matrimonii, donec certo probetur alteram partem baptizatam esse, alteram vero non baptizatam.

<sup>1</sup> D.A. 4042.3; *Addit. et Variat.* VI, 8

<sup>2</sup> 1949, p. 331.

i. In discussing this question some years ago,<sup>1</sup> the decision was to limit the presumption of canon 1070, §2, to marriages contracted under the Code discipline, that is to say, to those contracted after 19 May 1918. For marriages contracted before that date the older presumption prevailed: "baptismus dubius, in ordine ad matrimonii validitatem, censendus est validus". This view of the matter was supported by a decision of the Holy Office, 15 May 1936,<sup>2</sup> which decided that the marriage of an unbaptized man to a doubtfully baptized Catholic in 1900 was invalid owing to the impediment of difference of worship.

ii. In view of Cappello's statement quoted above a further examination of the question seemed necessary but it has resulted in the same conclusion as was given in 1937, and it is supported by Regatillo, a Spanish canonist of great repute: "Quoniam Codex non habet vim retroactivam quoad matrimonium, sed matrimonium regitur iure vigente quando contractum fuit, putarem subsistere praesumptionem illam de baptismo valido, et iuxta illam iudicandum esse de valore praesumpto matrimonii ante Codicem contracti".<sup>3</sup>

iii. As regards Cappello's view we think he should have mentioned at least that the matter was in dispute. He is supported by Vermeersch<sup>4</sup> on the ground that a presumption recently established rules matters which took place under an earlier discipline when the presumptions were different: "Praesumptiones legales facta sub lege anteriori posita regunt, quia lex nova melior priore aestimanda est". With the passage of time the validity of pre-Code marriages will cease to have anything but academic interest. At the moment, however, there are many contracted under the old law, and the doubt discussed seems to call for some authentic decision.

#### RELIGIOUS RITE OF CANONICAL ENGAGEMENT

In the rare event of parties wishing to become engaged with the canonical form, they expect some religious ceremony to

<sup>1</sup> THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1937, p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> Periodica, 1936, p. 154.

<sup>3</sup> Jus Sacramentarium, §1272.

<sup>4</sup> Epitome, II, §345, 3, i; Periodica, 1931, p. 11, 1928, p. 158.

accompany the signatures. Is there any formula for this in existence? (T.)

### REPLY

Canon 1017, §1. Matrimonii promissio sive unilaterialis, sive bilateralis seu sponsalitia, irrita est pro utroque foro, nisi facta fuerit per scripturam subsignatam a partibus et vel a parrocho aut loci Ordinario, vel a duobus saltem testibus.

i. A suggested formula for the essential act of signing was given in this REVIEW, 1939, XVI, p. 157, and the question of a religious ceremony will scarcely arise unless the parties elect to have the parish priest or Ordinary as the official witness. There are good reasons for doubting whether the parish priest may validly delegate another priest to act in his name;<sup>1</sup> therefore, in the event of an assistant priest being approached, it is advisable for him to secure a second witness to sign the document, but he may always accompany the act by some religious rite, subject to the ruling of the parish priest on the matter.

ii. The most recent *Rituale Romanum* of 1952 contains no formula for use on these occasions. The American translation of the Ritual gives one in the Appendix consisting of Ps. 126, an allocution, an exchange of promises, a blessing of the engagement ring which is placed on the index finger of the woman's left hand by the man, and a concluding Mass. Failing an authorized formula there is hardly any limit to what a priest may do to solemnize these occasions. The minimum is a blessing of the ring with the formula "Benedictio ad omnia" of the Ritual, a blessing of the parties with the usual formula "Benedictio Dei Omnipotentis, etc.", and they may hear Mass and receive Holy Communion exactly as they would on any other day. What should be absolutely avoided is any resemblance to the rite of marriage with a nuptial blessing, and we think the American suggestion rather offends in this respect, especially if it is publicly carried out at the altar rail. Nevertheless, it is permitted apparently in America, and failing any ruling by the local Ordinary, it is hard to see on what principle it can be forbidden elsewhere.

<sup>1</sup> THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1949, XXXII, p. 132.

PROCESSIONAL INTROIT

In certain places abroad the choir sings the Introit during the procession to the altar, and adds antiphonally the verses of the psalm of which only one verse is given in the Missal. May this practice be introduced anywhere? (L.)

REPLY

S.R.C., 29 January 1947 (private); THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1948, XXIX, p. 63. An in Missis cantatis . . . liceat Introitum cantare iuxta morem antiquum, plures nempe versus psalmi canendo, Antiphona quidem interiecta, ita ut cantus Introitus protrahatur ad totum tempus quoad Celebrans a Sacristia . . . ad altare accesserit? *Resp.* Affirmative, dummodo omnia secundum ordinem fiant iuxta prudens Ordinarii iudicium.

i. The practice of singing the Introit, as in the *Liber Usualis*, whilst the sacred ministers are approaching the altar is according to the rubrics of some monastic missals in current use and, notwithstanding a Roman reply, 14 April 1753, is held by many to be permitted by a direction in the Vatican Gradual, *De Ritibus Servandis*, n. 1.<sup>1</sup>

ii. The private reply quoted above goes further than this and permits the re-introduction of an antiphonal singing of the psalm, repeating the antiphon between each verse. To be lawful the Ordinary's sanction is required, as it is for other liturgical developments such as the *Missa dialogata*. It will surely be rare for the rector of any church to want this development of the Introit chant, which will take considerable time to carry out, particularly on some days, as the Feast of Christ the King, when the Introit is already very long. But occasions may arise when, for one reason or another, there has to be a long procession from the sacristy to the altar, perhaps going round the aisles of the church: the Ordinary's permission may then properly be sought, relying on the above reply to the Master of Ceremonies of the Cathedral of Bayonne.

E. J. M.

<sup>1</sup> THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1939, XVII, pp. 71, 282.

## ROMAN DOCUMENTS

## INDULGENCES DURING THE MARIAN YEAR 1954

## SACRA PAENITENTIARIA APOSTOLICA

(OFFICIUM DE INDULGENTIIS)

DECRETUM QUO FAVORES SPIRITUALES CONCEDUNTUR OCCASIONE ANNI  
 MARIANI (A.A.S., 1953, XLV, p. 696).

Ss<sup>mus</sup> D. N. Pius div. Prov. Pp. XII, ad uberiores fructus spirituales ex Mariani Anni celebratione, per Litt. Enc. *Fulgens corona glorie*, d. d. 8 Sept. a. 1953, indicti, assequendos, primo exeunte saeculo a definito Dogmate Immaculae Conceptionis Beatae Mariae Virginis, in Audientia infra scripto Cardinali Paenitentiario Maiori die 10 vertentis mensis data, sequentes dignatus est concedere favores spirituales, per integrum Marianum Annum valituros: I. Plenariam Indulgentiam ab omnibus christifidelibus toties lucrandam quoties ipsi, peccatorum venia obtenta et Eucharistica Mensa refecti, quodlibet templum in honorem Beatae Mariae Virginis extructum, vel sacellum, si de locis Missionum agatur, devote visitaverint et ad Summi Pontificis mentem preces fuderint die, quo Marianus Annus initium capit itemque quo clauditur, nempe die octava mensis decembris anni 1953, et die octava eiusdem mensis anni 1954; pariterque in festis Nativitatis, Annuntiationis, Purificationis, Septem Dolorum et Assumptionis Beatae Mariae Virginis. II. Item christifideles, praefatis adimpletis conditionibus, Indulgentiam plenariam consequi valent singulis Anni Mariani sabbatis et quoties peregrinationem ad eadem templa turmatim instituerint. III. Iidem christifideles qui, uti supra dispositi, alicui sacrae functioni in honorem Beatae Mariae Virginis celebrandae devote interfuerint, Indulgentiam plenariam pariter lucrari possunt; si vero saltem corde contrito hoc egerint, Indulgentia decem annorum ipsis conceditur. IV. Singulis locorum Episcopis facultas facta est Papalem Benedictionem cum plenaria adnexa Indulgentia impertiendi diebus quibus idem Annus inchoatur ac clauditur inter sacra solemnia pontificali ritu peracta. V. Omnia Altaria, Beatae Mariae Virgini dictata, erunt privilegiata in favorem animae alicuius christifidelis in Dei gratia vita functi, in cuius suffragium ibi Missa a quocumque Sacerdote celebrabitur. VI. Ubi vero peculiare Sanctuarium habetur, in quo Deipara Virgo Maria singularissima pietate colitur, et ad quod pere-

grinantium multitudines e dissitis etiam locis pie se conferre solent, in eo christifideles, praeter omnes recensitas gratias spirituales, lucrari possunt Indulgentiam plenariam non modo singulis sabbatis, sed etiam ceteris Anni Mariani diebus, dummodo rite confessi ac sacris Epulis refecti, Sanctuarium illud devote visitaverint et ad mentem Summi Pontificis preces fuderint.

Contrariis quibuslibet minime obstantibus.

Datum Romae, ex Aedibus Sacrae Paenitentiariae Apostolicae, die 11 mensis Novembris 1953.

N. Card. CANALI, *Paenitentiarius Maior*

## A PRAYER FOR OUR LADY'S YEAR

### ORATIO

AD B. VIRGINEM MARIAM SINE LABE ORIGINALI CONCEPTAM PER ANNUM MARIANUM RECITANDA (A.A.S., 1953, XLV, p. 757).

Rapiti dal fulgore della vostra celeste bellezza e sospinti dalle angosce del secolo, ci gettiamo tra le vostre braccia, o Immacolata Madre di Gesù e Madre nostra, Maria, fiduciosi di trovare nel vostro Cuore amantissimo l'appagamento delle nostre fervide aspirazioni e il port o sicuro fra le tempeste che da ogni parte ci stringono.

Benchè avviliti dalle colpe e sopraffatti da infinite miserie, ammiriamo e cantiamo l'impareggiabile ricchezza di eccelsi doni, di cui Iddio vi ha ricolmata al di sopra di ogni altra pura creatura, dal primo istante del vostro concepimento fino al giorno, in cui, Assunta in cielo, vi ha incoronata Regina dell'universo.

O Fonte limpida di fede, irrorate con le eterne verità le nostre menti! O Giglio fragrante di ogni santità, avvincete i nostri cuori col vostro celestiale profumo! O Trionfatrice del male e della morte, ispirateci profondo orrore al peccato, che rende l'anima detestabile a Dio e schiava dell'inferno!

Ascoltate, o prediletta di Dio, l'ardente grido che da ogni cuore fedele s'innalza in quest'Anno a voi dedicato. Chinatevi sulle doloranti nostre piaghe. Mutate le menti ai malvagi, asciugate le lagrime degli afflitti e degli oppressi, confortate i poveri e gli umili, spegnete gli odi, addolcite gli aspri costumi, custodite il fiore della purezza nei giovani, proteggete la Chiesa santa, fate che gli uomini tutti sentano il fascino della cristiana bontà. Nel vostro nome, che risuona nei cieli armonia, essi si ravvisino fratelli, e le nazioni



membri di una sola famiglia, su cui risplenda il sole di una universale e sincera pace.

Accogliete, o Madre dolcissima, le umili nostre suppliche e otteneteci soprattutto che possiamo un giorno ripetere dinanzi al vostro trono, beati con voi, l'inno che si leva oggi sulla terra intorno ai vostri altari: Tutta bella sei, o Maria! Tu gloria, Tu letizia, Tu onore del nostro popolo! Così sia.

*Festa della Presentazione di Maria Santissima: 21 Novembre 1953.*

#### PIUS PP. XII

Il Santo Padre Pio XII si è degnato concedere ai fedeli che reciteranno la Preghiera dell'Anno Mariano le seguenti Indulgenze: I *Indulgenza parziale* di cinque anni, da lucrarsi almeno con il cuore contrito ogni volta che sarà devotamente recitata; II *Indulgenza plenaria*, alle solite condizioni, da lucrarsi nelle due feste dell'Immacolata Concezione ed in tutti i Sabati dell'Anno Mariano.

#### DUTIES OF EMIGRANT MISSIONARIES

#### SACRA CONGREGATIO CONSISTORIALIS

#### DECLARATIO

DE MISSIONARIORUM EMIGRANTUM OFFICIIS (A.A.S., 1953, XLV, p. 758).

Ad praecavenda dubia circa Missionariorum emigrantium officia, de quibus in Cap. IV Constitutionis Apostolicae *Exsul Familia*, atque ad uniformem instituendam agendi rationem, Sacra Congregatio Consistorialis

#### DECLARAT

I—*Quoad administrationem Sacramenti Confirmationis:*

Missionariis emigrantium quibus, ad normam Constitutionis Apostolicae *Exsul Familia* nn. 34-40, curam animarum in propria dioecesi locorum Ordinarii commiserint, competit potestas administrandi subditis, in articulo mortis constitutis, Sacramentum Confirmationis ad normam Decreti Sacrae Congregationis de disciplina Sacramentorum "Spiritus Sancti munera" diei 14 Septembris 1946 (A.A.S., XXXVIII, pag. 349).

Ssſſſus Dominus Noster Pius Divina Providentia Pp. XII hanc declarationem ratam habere dignatus est in *Audientia* diei 31 Augusti 1953.

II—*Quoad adsistentiam matrimoniis*:

(a) Ad normam Constitutionis Apostolicae *Exsul Familia*, n. 39, Missionarius emigrantium, cui cura animarum concredita est, servatis ceteris de iure servandis, intra fines territorii sibi praestituti, valide assistit matrimoniis quorum alteruter nupturientium sibi sit subditus.

(b) Ad liceitatem quod attinet, servetur praescriptum canonis C. I. C. 1097, §2, iuxta quem "in quolibet casu pro regula habeatur ut matrimonium coram sponsae parrocho celebretur, nisi iusta causa excuset".

(c) De investigationibus super statu nupturientium religiose servetur Instructio Sacrae Congregationis de disciplina Sacramentorum "De normis a parrocho servandis in peragendis . . ." edita die 29 Iunii 1941, praesertim praescriptum nn. 4 et 10 (*A.A.S.*, XXXIII, pag. 297-307).

Datum Romae, ex Aedibus Sacrae Congregationis Consistorialis, die 7 Octobris 1953.

✠ Fr. A. I. Card. PIAZZA, Ep. Sabinen. et Mandelen., a *Secretis*.

PAPAL ADDRESS ON SURGICAL OPERATIONS

*lis qui interfuerunt Conventui XXVI a Sodalitate Italica de Urologia indicto*.<sup>1</sup> (*A.A.S.*, 1953, XLV, p. 673.)

Nous vous saluons, Messieurs, vous qui, à l'occasion de votre Congrès d'Urologie, avez voulu Nous donner le plaisir de votre visite.

Vous représentez une spécialité de la médecine et vous vous efforcez de faire reconnaître à ce domaine particulier de la science et de l'art médical la place qui lui revient, aussi bien dans les études médicales que dans l'équipement des grandes cliniques. Nous souhaitons à vos projets le succès que mérite en fait l'objet tellement important de votre science. Il s'agit pour vous de secourir l'infirmité humaine et de sauvegarder, en les conservant à leur profession, la capacité de travail d'hommes qui ont encore une lourde tâche à accomplir.

<sup>1</sup> Habita die 8 Octobris mensis a 1953.

Vous Nous avez demandé d'expliquer deux questions. La première d'entre'elles concerne votre pratique médicale; la seconde, votre activité d'experts: "periti, peritiores, peritissimi", dans les procès matrimoniaux.

## I

La première question, vous Nous l'avez posée sous la forme d'un cas particulier, typique cependant de la catégorie à laquelle il appartient, c'est-à-dire l'amputation d'un organe sain pour supprimer le mal qui affecte un autre organe, ou du moins pour arrêter son développement ultérieur avec les souffrances et les dangers qu'il entraîne. Vous vous demandez si cela est permis.

En ce qui concerne votre diagnostic et votre pronostic, il ne Nous appartient pas d'en traiter. Nous répondons à votre question, en supposant que tous les deux sont exacts.

Trois choses conditionnent la licéité morale d'une intervention chirurgicale qui comporte une mutilation anatomique ou fonctionnelle: d'abord que le maintien ou le fonctionnement d'un organe particulier dans l'ensemble de l'organisme provoque en celui-ci un dommage sérieux ou constitue une menace; ensuite que ce dommage ne puisse être évité, ou du moins notablement diminué que par la mutilation en question et que l'efficacité de celle-ci soit bien assurée; finalement, qu'on puisse raisonnablement escompter que l'effet négatif, c'est-à-dire la mutilation et ses conséquences, sera compensé par l'effet positif: suppression du danger pour l'organisme entier, adoucissement des douleurs etc.

Le point décisif ici n'est pas que l'organe amputé ou rendu incapable de fonctionner soit malade lui-même; mais que son maintien ou son fonctionnement entraîne directement ou indirectement pour tout le corps une menace sérieuse. Il est très possible que, par son fonctionnement normal, un organe sain exerce sur un organe malade une action nocive de nature à aggraver le mal et ses répercussions sur tout le corps. Il peut se faire aussi que l'ablation d'un organe sain et l'arrêt de son fonctionnement normal enlève au mal, au cancer par exemple, son terrain de croissance ou, en tout cas, altère essentiellement ses conditions d'existence. Si l'on ne dispose d'aucun autre moyen, l'intervention chirurgicale sur l'organe sain est permise dans les deux cas.

La conclusion, que Nous venons de tirer, se déduit du droit de disposition que l'homme a reçu du Créateur à l'égard de son propre corps, d'accord avec le principe de totalité, qui vaut ici aussi, et en

vertu duquel chaque organe particulier est subordonné à l'ensemble du corps et doit se soumettre à lui en cas de conflit. Par conséquent, celui qui a reçu l'usage de tout l'organisme a le droit de sacrifier un organe particulier, si son maintien ou son fonctionnement cause au tout un tort notable, qu'il est impossible d'éviter autrement.

Puisque vous assurez que, dans le cas proposé, seule l'ablation des glandes séminales permet de combattre le mal, cette ablation ne soulève aucune objection du point de vue moral.

Nous nous voyons cependant amenés à attirer l'attention sur une fausse application du principe expliqué ci-dessus.

Il n'est pas rare, lorsque des complications gynécologiques entraînent une intervention chirurgicale, ou même indépendamment de celle-ci, qu'on extirpe les oviductes sains ou bien qu'on les rende incapables de fonctionner pour prévenir une nouvelle grossesse et les dangers graves qui pourraient peut-être en résulter pour la santé ou même la vie de la mère, dangers dont la cause relève d'autres organes malades, comme les reins, le cœur, les poumons, mais qui s'aggravent en cas de grossesse. Pour justifier l'ablation des oviductes on allègue le principe cité tantôt, et l'on dit qu'il est moralement permis d'intervenir sur des organes sains, quand le bien du tout l'exige.

Ici cependant on en appelle à tort à ce principe. Car en ce cas, le péril que court la mère ne provient pas, directement ou indirectement, de la présence ou du fonctionnement normal des oviductes ni de leur influence sur les organes malades, reins, poumons, cœur. Le danger n'apparaît que si l'activité sexuelle libre entraîne une grossesse qui pourrait menacer les organes susdits trop faibles ou malades. Les conditions qui permettraient de disposer d'une partie en faveur du tout en vertu du principe de totalité font défaut. Il n'est donc pas permis moralement d'intervenir sur les oviductes sains . . . (*omissis*).

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III. Concerning England* (1198-1216).

Edited by C. R. Cheney and W. H. Semple. (Nelson's Medieval Texts. 30s.)

THOSE who remember Luchaire's row of readable volumes in which the multitudinous activities of the greatest of the Popes were so neatly separated and described will turn with great interest and

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curiosity to this new contribution to an admirable series. The translation on opposite pages, the Introduction, the excellent notes and the several Indexes all combine to make the book as valuable as anything of its kind can be. The learned labours of the two Manchester professors give us much of the benefit of perusing original documents without any of the toil and trouble. The selected letters, eighty-seven in number, supply interesting examples of Innocent's judicial and administrative activities as well as certain aspects of his diplomacy. Very clearly they show the workings of the plenitude of papal power and the student will be fascinated by the Pope's gift of expression and by the copious and exact language in which all manner of decisions are conveyed. The most important transaction, historically, is the interdict on England arising out of John's behaviour in the Canterbury election, his submission to the Pope and the ensuing complications over Magna Carta. But all these letters are not about affairs of state and smaller matters often illustrate better the completeness of papal control and the incredible activity of Innocent. Letter No. 10, for instance, deals at length with the veneration of St Gilbert of Sempringham and is in fact a bull of canonization, for it prescribes both the procedure and the conditions: "merits without miracles," he writes, "or miracles without merits are not fully sufficient to establish sanctity." No. 13 expresses satisfaction at hearing that King John has actually confessed his sins and promised to make reparation by founding a Cistercian abbey. No. 15 is a long account of the troubles experienced by Abbot Robert of Thorney at the hands of Archbishop Hubert Walter and it ends with directions in the Abbot's favour. No. 33 orders the nuns of Amesbury to pay without further delay their debt of fifty marks to Roman moneylenders who have considerably remitted interest and costs and are only asking for their principal. In No. 65 to the legates, Nicholas of Tusculum and Pandulf, the Pope complains that the prelates of England, after collecting Peter's Pence, have had no compunction about retaining the greater part for themselves, "paying to Us only 300 marks and appropriating a thousand or more". Then there is here "that lovely decretal" about the election of Mauger to the see of Worcester. (Mauger, Archdeacon of Evreux, nominated to the see by King Richard, had freely confessed that he was of illegitimate birth.) The best of all is the famous reply to Eustace, Bishop of Ely (1198-1215), who, as Maitland says, had set the Pope an examination paper of about nineteen questions in Canon Law. Innocent, after remarking that he had many other things to see to, proceeds to answer it and in so doing declares the law of the Universal Church.

The real interest, however, is quite as much in the manner as in the matter. Innocent not only lays down the law, supplying model judgements and specimen decretals to be studied and copied and entered in the law books; he is at the same time creating a school of diplomacy and instructing both clerics and secular magnates in the art of conducting official correspondence. Everybody is addressed according to his rank, irrespective of his conduct; John, for instance, is his well-beloved son in Christ, the illustrious King of the English—except when he is excommunicate, and then, instead of greeting and the apostolic benediction, what is desired for him is *spiritus consilii senioris*. The bishops are always Venerable Brothers; the cardinals, his brothers with whom he takes counsel in the determination of policy, although in every case the rôle of other prelates is defined as *pars sollicitudinis* while the Pope's is *plenitudo potestatis*. Stephen Langton receives the high compliment of being described as "having been, as it were, a joint governor with Us of the Universal Church", though it should be noted that the *quasi* is not omitted. He himself, of course, is the Universal Ordinary; he signs the decree about King John: *Ego Innocentius catholicæ ecclesiæ episcopus subscripsi*.

The astonishing amplitude of expression is equal to the ability of the canonist and administrator. He has to explain, reason, exhort, commend, reprove, expostulate, warn and threaten; sometimes, to people like King John, he has to do all these things in the same letter. The princes were not always amenable and censures were often disregarded. Having no material resources he could only rely upon his spiritual and moral authority; often he had to play off one miscreant against another and he could never be quite certain that his careful instructions would be properly carried out. Yet, when all is weighed and considered, he was a marvellous man, the creator of the papal monarchy and one of the educators of Europe.

*Assisi and Umbria Revisited*. By Edward Hutton. (Hollis & Carter. 21s. net.)

It would be much easier to enumerate the contents of this delightful book than to do justice to its peculiar charm. Many pilgrims have visited Assisi and Perugia; but how few know Umbria as a whole. To do that one must know the story of St Francis, the *Fioretti*, the Franciscan poets, and chroniclers, the whole saga, and not only these but the art and history of mediaeval Umbria, the churches with their frescoes and altar-pieces, the castles and fortresses and much more. For all this Mr Edward Hutton has for long years been the unique and perfect guide. Probably no Englishman has ever known Italy from end to end as he does; certainly none has

written of Umbria Santa as he can and described it all with such intimate knowledge and such passionate love. The present work is thus altogether different from the usual record of travel impressions. It is something that has been lived and it speaks in a tone that is more than eloquence, with an accent that cannot be derived merely from accumulated knowledge.

The knowledge nevertheless is immense. He knows all the Franciscan shrines and all that is told of them. Having given an impassioned description of Assisi, the traveller goes on to Cannara where St Francis established the Third Order, to Bevagna where he preached to the birds, to Foligno and Montefalco, to rose-coloured Spoleto, and down along the Valle Santa, describing Greccio, the birthplace of the Crib, Fonte Colombo, "the Franciscan Sinai", La Foresta of the miraculous vat, and Poggio Bastone where, as Celano relates, the Saint wrestled with a demon. These pages abound in vivid description of landscapes of ever varied and contrasting beauty, the wild summits, the lovely valleys, the vine, the olive, the cypress, the ilex, the gaunt rocks, the towering hills crowned with fortress-like churches, palaces and castles. Best of all, perhaps, is the evocation of the sense of serenity, of light and spacious air, the atmospheric colour that suffuses the ever-changing landscape. This is the very essence of the Umbrian scene. This it was that so passed into the mind and hand of the painters that they could infuse the sense of peace and harmony and quiet loveliness into all their work, even when they depicted scenes of the Passion.

With such guidance we range over the whole extent of Umbria, from Gubbio, famous for the pact of peace with Brother Wolf, right down to Narni and Terni, from Nocera and Foligno even to Orvieto and Bolsena. Everywhere our guide and teacher is equally at home. Four times he quotes the Georgics; the Eclogues too, and Claudian, at Narni. At Monte Soracte he does not, as Byron did, reject Horace but remembers the *Diffugere nives*. Nor does he forget St Benedict at Norcia, Alborno at Narni, Nathaniel Hawthorne at Trevi, D'Annunzio at Orvieto; and in parenthesis we are told how the head of St Andrew the Apostle came into Italy. Very delightful, too, and altogether characteristic are the fully recorded conversations with friars, with youths and the friends made in brief encounters.

"The mystical land produced," says Mr Hutton, "no great intelligence, only a spirit that might have saved the world," whereby he means of course the spirit of the Poverello. It certainly produced and attracted artists. Umbria possesses, even for a province of Italy, a great and varied wealth of works of art, and in this land of contrasts we cannot but note the stern strength of the architecture and the



sweetness of the painting. The one arose out of the wildness of the times: witness the Palazzo dei Consoli at Gubbio or the Palazzo dei Priori at Perugia with its gaunt lion of the Guelphs and fearsome griffin. Yet Umbria has lovely churches such as the cathedral of Orvieto and Santa Maria della Consolazione at Todi. The Umbrian painters were not the greatest of Italy, but Benedetto Bonfigli, Niccolò da Foligno, Pintoricchio, Luca Signorelli, Perugino and Lo Spagna make no mean contribution. The Franciscan spirit with its adoration of the Sacred Humanity and the Passion of our Lord drew to Umbria a long line of painters greater than the Umbrians themselves; we need name only the Lorenzetti brothers, Simone Martini, Fra Lippo Lippi, Benozzo Gozzoli, Domenico del Ghirlandaio.

There is a whole chapter here on Perugino and the Pinacotheca Vannucci at Perugia and in a special Appendix a critical discussion on the St Francis frescoes in the Upper Church of San Francesco at Assisi. The book is well produced and though packed with proper names is wholly free from misprints. It is illustrated by no fewer than twenty-five excellent photographs.

*In the Track of the Gospel.* By Aloysius Roche. (Burns Oates. 15s.)

FATHER ALOYSIUS ROCHE whose multifarious activities have always included some excellent writing here presents "an outline of the Christian Apostolate from Pentecost to the Present" and he has done it very well. To give a clear outline of the astonishing story in 200 pages and to fill in that outline with a sufficient quantity of detail is no small feat of selection, compression and expression. Everybody will realize how formidable is the mass of names, dates and figures, how impossible to mention anything, however important, more than once, how fatally easy to get caught in some critical epoch—of which there have been so many—and so lose balance and proportion. Father Roche, for long years a student of history, appears to have made just the right amount of use of the manuals and text-books and to have arrived in good time at that stage of the long journey where the endless stream of information from periodicals can be utilized. He does not pause too long over the Roman Empire, doubtless holding with Freeman that the conversion of the Empire is the miracle of History. On page 75 he has already got to the Coming of the Friars and thence onwards the quick pace has to be accelerated. Excellent chapters are: "The Conquistadors", "The Coming of the Jesuits" and the two devoted to North America. The large and difficult question of Spanish and Portuguese colonizations, interwoven as these were with Spanish and Portuguese Missions, is carefully

handled and the pages devoted to "The Portuguese Monopoly" will repay attention. Then France comes on the scene with the famous *Missions Étrangères* and returns to it powerfully in the nineteenth century, after the melancholy catastrophe brought about by the "Enlightenment". And so we come to modern times, to Father Damien, Don Bosco, Lavigerie, Herbert Vaughan and so many others. The French ascendancy has now been followed and equalled by Dutch, Belgian, German and Italian enterprises, and there is the great movement of Missionary Sisters, and even Medical Missionary Sisters, and—greatest advance of all—a native clergy. In so full and so vivid a story it is impossible to single out any period or any effort for special comment; the epic must be taken as a whole and taken in a rush as, in fact, the author has narrated it. It is only in the short and eloquent epilogue that he can pause for reflexions.

*St Thomas More.* By E. E. Reynolds. (Burns Oates. 25s.)

THIRTY-FIVE years ago, the late P. S. Allen, the translator of the Letters of Erasmus, deplored the fact that England had done very little to cherish the memory of Thomas More and said that it was time reparation should be made. Those words had application beyond the shores of England; but reparation was made in 1935 when, in addition to a solemn act of lasting importance, there was a spate of books, articles and lectures and a special number of THE CLERGY REVIEW (Vol. IX, No. 5, 1935) wholly devoted to More and Fisher. Supplementing the work of the band of Catholic scholars headed by the late Mgr P. E. Hallett there was the enormously valuable contribution of non-Catholic experts, R. W. Chambers, A. W. Reed, Dr Elsie Hitchcock, centred in London University and, linked with these through the Inns of Court, the productions of the Thomas More Society as "the brilliant second". But so great a theme is not easily exhausted and a learned member of the Catholic Record Society has now made an exceedingly useful addition to the More literature. Mr Reynolds' purpose has been, in his own words, to gather together the results of many inquiries and studies, and he has constructed a very full and lucid narrative by making a skilful use of a great many passages from More's early biographers. The story is, in reality, told by More himself, by Erasmus and Rastell, Roper, Ro: Ba: Harpsfield and Stapleton. The numerous extracts are threaded upon Mr Reynolds' own narrative and in his hands the technique of "generous quotation" yields excellent results. Following Fr T. E. Bridgett, he deals more fully with the religious life of the Saint than with the literary side or the Christian academy at Chelsea, on the one hand, or, on the other hand, the political history of the

early stages of the Reformation which takes so large a place in the general history of the country. As a handbook for students and for general readers, who may regard whole books written in Tudor English as somewhat tedious, this work will we believe be found as valuable as it is interesting.

Great care has been given to the editing and the illustrations. Particularly valuable are the bibliography and the fully annotated genealogical table of five generations; and "catalogue particulars" are supplied for the twenty illustrations of which no fewer than seventeen are plates; the volume, in short, is admirably produced.

The few points which may be queried do not affect the validity of any statement of importance. In 1509, more than "sixty years had passed since a son had followed a father on the throne of England": Henry VI followed Henry V in 1422. Benson, or Boston, the first Dean of Westminster was not "the first and only Bishop of Westminster"; the distinction belongs to Thirlby. The house of Grey Friars in Newgate Street may have been "more convenient" than that of the Observants of Greenwich; but seeing that More for a time wavered between the Carthusians and the Franciscans it is somewhat unlikely that he would have sought the contemplative life in the heart of London where everybody knew him and the More family. The famous interview in 1499 when More, Erasmus and Mountjoy presented MSS to the children of Henry VII, a scene depicted in the well-known painting in the Houses of Parliament, took place in the Old Palace at Greenwich, not Eltham; Erasmus, a foreign visitor, was mistaken in his topography. Where there are so many good notes an explanatory word might have been appended to a statement of Henry to More which has often puzzled readers: "for we received from that See [Rome] our crown imperial." What Henry was alluding to was his father's action on assuming the crown after the battle of Bosworth. Henry VII applied to Innocent VIII for a dispensation in regard to his intended marriage with Elizabeth of York and astutely tacked on to it a statement of his claim to the crown of England. He received a brief conveying papal approbation of both.

J. J. D.

*The Welfare State.* By D. L. Hobman. Pp. 127. (John Murray. 7s. 6d.)

THE Welfare State came into existence to deal with certain disorders in our industrial and commercial society. Its defenders claim too much when they envisage it as the answer to all problems; its critics go too far when they blame it for defects which began in the era of

free enterprise and market economy. This era brought into being the industrial proletariat, that vast body of men with no economic security and no guarantee of a minimum standard of living necessary for the preservation of human respect. The Welfare State is an attempt by society acting collectively to provide that minimum standard, and as such it should be judged. It cannot cure the defects which seem to be inherent in industrial society: the family restricted in many of its functions, incentives reduced to monetary gain, the loss of a sense of community, the decline of any idea of status, function or vocation in one's job. Initiative had been centralized and individual responsibility had been weakened long before successive Acts of Parliament—based on the Beveridge Report—gave us the Social Service State as we know it today.

Mr Hobman has provided an extremely useful and succinct summary of those Acts which are "the four pillars which support the structure of the Welfare State": National Health, National Insurance, National Assistance and the Children Act, and shows how they have worked out in practice. He provides just sufficient historical background for the reader to see that the passage of these Acts in 1946 was the culmination of a long process of awakening of the national conscience, and was far from being a bolt from the blue. He pays tribute to the work of the voluntary organizations in the past, particularly their religious inspiration, and rightly sees that there is still a great deal of scope for them now and in the future. His aim is descriptive rather than critical, but he does well to emphasize the increasing gap between contributions and benefits, and the dependence of the whole scheme on full employment and a stable cost of living. Nevertheless, the unbiased reader will agree with Mr Hobman that the Welfare State as it exists in Britain today, with all its blemishes and potential dangers, is a noble ideal which at this stage in our history is a necessity.

*Is the World heading for Starvation?* By A. G. Donnithorne. Pp. 66. (Catholic Social Guild. 1s.)

MANY recent writers have answered in the affirmative the question which is the title of Miss Donnithorne's booklet, and have drawn the inevitable conclusion that the knowledge and use of contraceptives must be made world-wide. Miss Donnithorne devotes the greater part of this booklet to a survey of the world's productive resources, relying very largely on the report of a conference called by the United Nations in 1949: the Scientific Conference on the Conservation and Utilization of Resources. She extracts some of the most telling points made by the technologists at this conference, although

occasionally her judgement of the value of the contributions is not equal to her skill in summarizing. But the over-all impression is that with skill, effort and determination the world food output can keep ahead of population increases. The chapters dealing with these increases are not as satisfactory as those on improved methods of food production, because the statistics given (of birth and death rates) of Eastern and Latin American countries are notoriously inaccurate, however respectable their source.

Having shown that a policy of population limitation is unnecessary from a scientific point of view, Miss Donnithorne then shows how such a policy, even from a self-seeking hedonistic point of view, is bound to be self-destructive. In order to be successful it must make people into materialists, suggesting that happiness comes through material possessions. The result is that they are never satisfied, for their wants increase faster than the means of supplying them. Moreover, as has been shown in the Western world, the result is an unbalance of age groups where fewer and fewer young people have to support a quite disproportionate number of old people.

This booklet, the Yearbook of the Catholic Social Guild for 1953, is in the best sense of that much hackneyed word a timely publication. In 1954 is being held the United Nations Conference on Population where a determined effort will be made by the neo-Malthusians to impose family planning, i.e. the use of contraceptives, on backward peoples. By publishing this popular version of the UNSCCUR Report Miss Donnithorne and the Catholic Social Guild have provided Catholic public opinion with the weapons to combat these potential saboteurs of the human race.

*The Expanding Environment. The End of Cities—The Rise of Communities.* By E. A. Gutkind. (Freedom Press. 8s. 6d.)

DR GUTKIND's central idea is good, but he surrounds it and half stifles it with a lot of nonsense. He is in revolt against the cities of today, "the product of a misguided and misunderstood direction of economic forces which exert a totalitarian dictatorship over our lives", and he wishes to see the population dispersed throughout "centre-less regions". His plea for unity in diversity, with a right balance between town and country, will be received sympathetically by many people. But not so his suggestion that the idea of the Expanding Universe means the end of the old forces which have shaped our environment as we know it, viz. the Church, the State and Tradition. His practical suggestions point towards the only sensible way of organizing human living in the future, but they are far more

relevant and true than his word-spinning built on the ideas of Jeans and Eddington. There is an interesting comparison to be made between the ideas of Dr Gutkind and Father Teilhard de Chardin. They both begin with the effect of new ideas of Time and Space on man. Dr Gutkind ends with space at the centre of things, while Father Teilhard de Chardin concludes that we must not forget that "nowhere are the elements of a complete 'evolutive energy' better recognizable and more advanced today than in a well understood Christianity: that is to say, in the flaming perception of a Universe which is neither cold, nor closed—but which irreversibly converges on a loving and lovable Centre of intense personality".

*Saints in Hell.* By Gilbert Cesbron. Translated from the French by John Russell. Pp. 288. (Secker & Warburg. 12s. 6d.)

IN the recent statement issued by Cardinals Liénart, Gerlier and Feltin announcing that the apostolate of the priest-workers would continue, certain new modifications and conditions were introduced. They are the result of the experiences of the last ten years. Apart from the question of selection and training, three other points were made: that the priest-workers' manual work should be part-time, that they should not have any temporal commitments in Trade Unions or in other ways, and that they should not live alone. The reader of M. Cesbron's novel will appreciate the necessity of these safeguards.

Its hero is Père Pierre, who sets out to find the touchstone of grace in the post-Christian environment of Sagny, a working-class suburb of Paris. As the story unfolds he gradually identifies himself more and more with the struggles, both of body and of soul, of those to whom he is committed, and at the same time finds himself in conflict with the Communist leaders of the district and with the authorities of the Church. Finally he is withdrawn from the Mission by the Archbishop. As a documentary it gives a fair indication of the nature of the problems which have beset the forty priest-workers who have been carrying out in Paris the brave experiment initiated by Cardinal Suhard some ten years ago. But as a novel it is not a success, for it rarely rises above the level of pious fiction. Occasionally the drama of the personal tensions of the central figure emerge, but the grim environment of Sagny has more reality than most of its inhabitants as depicted in the novel. Perhaps its chief value is to show that there is another, more ruthless, kind of Catholic-Communist struggle than that described in *The Little World of Don Camillo*.

The translation is readable, but calls for several comments. Con-

versions are unnecessarily stilted, and the translator's ignorance of things Catholic leads to a number of errors, one of which ruins the climax of an important episode, the interview between Père Pierre and the successor of Cardinal Suhard. Finally, the language is at times coarse and crude. True, it is a faithful rendering of the French original, but what is permissible in a French proletarian novel can be shocking to English ears.

*Signes de Dieu.* By Joseph Siblot. Pp. 188. (Editions Ouvrières. 390 fr.)

*Présence à Dieu. Présence au Monde.* By Emile Rideau. Pp. 254. (Editions Ouvrières. 450 fr.)

*Civilisation.* By L. J. Lebreton. Pp. 221. (Editions Ouvrières. 390 fr.)

THE first of these books deals in a non-technical way with the theology of the sacraments, presenting them in an original fashion as the signs of God's dealing with men. The style, which is reminiscent of Père Plus, is illuminated by anecdotes and examples drawn from every sphere of modern life, sacred and secular. The second is a collection of articles which have already appeared in various periodicals, chiefly the *Cahiers d'Action religieuse et sociale*. It contains meditations on the liturgical year, with special application to the needs of the Catholic who is engaged in the lay apostolate, showing the relevance of various feasts to the work of incarnating the spirit of the Gospel in every department of life. The second part of M. Rideau's book comments on various topics of current but not ephemeral interest, books, films, peace campaigns and so on—all with a spirit of tolerance and Christian humanism. Finally there is the latest work of Père Lebreton, well known for his association with the work of *Economie et Humanisme*. It too is concerned with the work of evangelization, but it embraces the whole of civilization. It is no formal study, but with bold strokes builds up a picture of the kind of world we live in. Towns, cities, countries, types of people are all rapidly sketched in to provide a picture of the world in which the kingdom of God is to be built. Père Lebreton is a competent technician in the field of economic and sociological surveys, and hence the picture that he builds up is not made of fleeting impressions but of sound conclusions drawn from detailed observations and discussions. He is also a priest, and so he shows how obedience to the second great commandment must have a civilizing effect and lead men to fulfil their eternal destiny, which is the transcendent destiny of mankind.

J. F.



*Don Francisco.* By Mary Purcell. Pp. viii + 339. (Gill & Son, Dublin. 12s. 6d.)

*Call on Xavier.* By Rev. Edward O'Connor, S.J. Pp. vi + 73. (Gill & Son, Dublin. 3s.)

AMONG the many biographical studies of St Francis Xavier which have appeared recently, to mark the 400th centenary of his death, Miss Purcell's will probably prove to be the most popular for the mass of English-speaking readers. Although her work is carefully documented (witness her host of helpers and her extensive bibliography) she tells the Saint's life-story in so moving a manner as to make one sometimes wonder whether the book is fictional and imaginary rather than a serious historical record. It is both compelling and convincing; sober fact presented as lively narrative.

This story of the "greatest missionary since St Paul" is set in its proper historical background, including those English chapters of the period which are not the nation's brightest. Miss Purcell shows no favouritism, and her castigations of the disgraceful slave-trading of Catholic Portugal are as unrelenting as her references to the Tudor King Henry VIII. The evils of the time serve but to emphasize the saintliness of Don Francisco. His amazing exploits, all in the sacred cause of his Master, make a magical tale unique in the annals of heroes; and his greatest earthly adventure was his death, made marvellous by its majestic loneliness and its tremendous sanctity.

Father O'Connor's booklet is devoted expressly to the annual novena (4th to 12th March) in honour of St Francis Xavier. Side by side with outstanding events in the Saint's life we are given details of striking miracles wrought at his intercession; not only old-time miracles but also those of our own day. The special novena prayers are printed as an appendix in order that readers may make this spiritual exercise privately if they are unable to attend the public service in church. The author is obviously one of the Saint's devotees, and he succeeds in making his pages scintillate with interest as he sets before us the charm and fascination of this sixteenth-century Apostle of the East.

L. T. H.

#### "L'OISEAU LYRE" L.P. RECORDS

**J. S. Bach:** *Christmas Oratorio* (Detmold Academy—Collegium Pro Arte—Kurt Thomas) OL 50001—3. **H. Schütz:** *The Christmas Story* (Dreikönigskirche Frankfurt Kantorei—Collegium Musicum—

Kurt Thomas) OL 50020. **Mantovani's Orchestra: *An Album of Christmas Music***. LF 1149 (Decca and Associated Companies).

An estimate of the *Christmas O.* on six sides, one of the first Decca issues of the French O.L. series, is best presented by a comparison with the Nixa issue on eight sides. The compression into three twelve-inch discs, an important financial consideration, is effected by using the disc space to the utmost (each side plays for a good half-hour); by eliminating one *da capo* and portion of another; and by taking the chorales at a brisker rate. The happy result is that, with the exception of Part III, each of the six Parts is fitted on to one side, which is an advantage for the purchaser who does not want the whole, as well as being more pleasing for the listener. The Nixa recording, apart from a lamentable concluding chorale on the first disc, is louder and consistently so throughout whereas the O.L. requires louder volume control for the solo parts to be heard effectively. The tenor soloist in both editions is scarcely first rate, the bass and soprano about equal, and the O.L. alto superior. Both choirs are excellent but the instrumentalists in the O.L. version have greater precision, and the separate parts are more distinctly heard. Briefly the Nixa edition, recorded in Stuttgart under Hans Grischkat, is more exuberant, and certain numbers as *Frohe Hirte* (Novello n. 15) are superior: no one who has this set need feel any regrets, apart from the conclusion of side I which simply has to be written off. But, on the whole, especially bearing in mind the O.L. divisions and the reduction in cost, most buyers will prefer this new version, and a warm welcome must be extended to Decca's introduction of O.L. discs, a French series of distinction which so far could be obtained in this country only at considerable expense.

The second item is a musical setting by Heinrich Schütz (1585-1672) of Luke ii, 1-21 and Matthew ii conceived on the same principle as the liturgical setting of the Passion in Holy Week. We have a tenor narrator singing the text to a harpsichord *continuo*, with solo bass and treble voices for persons such as Herod and the angels, and choral interludes accompanied by an orchestra corresponding to the *turba* of the Passions for the relatively few occasions occurring in the gospels of the Infancy; the whole is introduced and closed by a more florid choral piece the words of which cannot be discerned: no doubt the sleeve, which we have not seen, will give the whole libretto. Though not so arresting as the Schütz Passion music this is an interesting and unusual record, competently sung and recorded, and a welcome change from Christmas fare composed exclusively of carols, as provided by Mantovani's orchestra and others.

## CORRESPONDENCE

## ST PETER'S DENIALS

(THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1953, XXXVIII, pp. 597, 702, 767)

Father Richards replies:

It is Father Walsh, not I, who suggests this rather extraordinary opposition between a "real contradiction" and a "contradiction in certain respects". Obviously inspired and inerrant Scripture will exclude all real contradictions, in any respect at all. But it cannot possibly exclude all unreal contradictions, viz. those that exist only in the mind of a reader who makes the text assert a good deal more than it was ever intended to assert.

I hope this does not sound like a quibble. Perhaps an article in a future number will help to clarify a subject on which there seem to be many misunderstandings.

Father R. W. Catterall writes:

An interesting article on the inerrancy of Scripture appeared in the *Muenchener Theologische Zeitschrift* Jhg. 4 Nr. 3 (July 1953) under the title "Die Enzyklika "Divino Afflante Spiritu" Pius XII und das Problem der inerrantia Sacrae Scripturae". The author, Johann Fischer, is professor at the University of Niederstaufen. The view advocated is similar to that proposed by Father Richards. If Father Walsh would care to read this article, I will gladly send him my copy if he will write to me at Royal Air Force, Brueggen, B.A.O.R. 34.

## DUPLICATE PARISH REGISTER

(THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1953, XXXVIII, pp. 620, 701, 768)

"Arbutus" writes:

God bless the Liverpool clergy! In this country duplicate registers are unnecessary—except perhaps Baptismal Registers—and then if there is a doubt about a person's baptism, it can always be repeated conditionally.

As to marriage—no marriage can be contracted except in the presence of the Registrar or an Authorized person and records of these marriages are preserved in triplicate. Confirmation and Burial Registers need not be duplicated.

There may be a need in countries where there is no elaborate system (such as obtains in England) of registering births, marriages and deaths.

## CHILDREN MISSING MASS

(THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1953, XXXVIII, p. 755)

Dr William Sewell writes:

In your Book Reviews for December (p. 755), F. M. states: "Couldn't some theologian explain resoundingly to priests and teachers that there is no mortal sin for children missing Mass when their parents never come. . . ."

This opinion would be a most consoling guide to me if I could bring myself to believe it. My first hesitation comes from the fact that many children (say, ten to eleven years old) know full well what a mortal sin is and what are its consequences. I have indeed met many such children scared and sick at heart because their parents did not go to Mass, and their judgement of the situation has been completely sound.

In this connexion, may I state that few priests seem to appreciate the extent of children's knowledge and the certainty of their judgements. Of course, we all know of exceptions, and these loom large in our estimate of children's capabilities. But experience in juvenile courts showed me how very difficult it is to get children to reveal their minds; how very few—and probation officers and children's officers admit it—are adepts at making children "come across". How startling are the facts when one does succeed. It is certain that most people, especially parents, greatly underestimate what children know.

But the Church does not. Her instructions on Confession show this clearly.

My second hesitation comes from the fact that every other excuse we try to make for these children who miss Mass seems to be applicable to the parents themselves in the case where *their* parents never went to Mass.

I would certainly like to see the matter more fully discussed. If a good case is made out for F. M.'s opinion, one difficulty still remains. What are we to do about it? However competent instructions may be, there will still be children who miss Mass when they see their parents staying at home.

## BENEDICTIO PUERI

(THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1953, XXXVIII, p. 768)

Father Gerald Donnelly writes:

I have no idea for what purpose the *Benedictio Pueri*, on which W. S. seeks information, was originally designed, but I make bold to

suggest that it might be used for the blessing of a child after his legal adoption has been completed in the courts.

Many adopters evince a desire for some sort of recognition of the adopted child by the Church and often ask if they should go to their parish priest to "have his name put in the Book", presumably the Baptismal Register. Others more simply ask if they have to take him to be christened again.

A similar desire apparently exists with non-Catholic adopters, since I notice that the House of Canterbury Convocation was to have had before it in October "an order of blessing upon the adoption of a child" including, I understand, an exhortation, psalm 113 and a reading from St Mark's Gospel. Psalm 113 is, of course, our 112 which is incorporated in the *Benedictio Pueri*.

#### EUCCHARISTIC FAST

C.D. writes:

Peter is celebrating at 8.0 a.m., 9.0 a.m. and 10.0 a.m. In answer to a question in the June issue of *THE CLERGY REVIEW* you would allow Peter to take a non-alcoholic drink at 7.0 a.m.

What is to be said for the opinion which would allow him to take a non-alcoholic drink up to just before 8.0 a.m.?

This opinion, it seems, could be based on a possible interpretation of the wording of the law in Norma III and the Instruction No. 4, namely, that the hour's interval between the taking of the non-alcoholic drink and the celebration of Mass refers only to Mass said (i) *horis tardioribus*, (ii) *post gravem laborem*, (iii) *post longum iter*.

Consequently, in the case in question either Peter is not allowed to take a drink at all before 8.0 a.m., or if he is allowed on the plea that he is celebrating at 9.0 a.m. he can take it at any time up to just before 8.0 a.m.

Canon Mahoney replied that he could find no commentator who agrees with C.D. The Editor would welcome any information from correspondents.

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